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Selections.

PRESIDENTS MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

If any people ever had cause to render up thanks to the Supreme Being for parental care and protection extended to them, in all the trials and difficulties to which they have been from time to time exposed, we certainly are that people. From the first settlement of our forefathers on this continent—through the dangers attendant upon the occupation of a savage wilderness—through a long period of colonial dependence—through the war of the revolution—in the wisdom which led to the adoption of the existing republican forms of government—in the hazards incident to a war subsequently waged with one of the most powerful nations of the earth—in the increase of our population—in the spread of the arts and sciences, and in the strength and durability conferred on political institutions, eminating from the people, and sustained by their will—the superintendence of an overruling Providence has been plainly visible. As preparatory, therefore, to entering once more upon the high duties of legislation, it becomes us humbly to acknowledge our dependence upon Him as our guide and protector, and to implore a continuance of His parental watchfulness over our beloved country. We have new cause for the expression of our gratitude in the preservation of the health of our fellow-citizens, with some partial and local exceptions, during the past season—for the abundance with which the earth has yielded up its fruits to the labors of the husbandman—for the renewed activity which has been imparted to commerce—for the revival of trade in all its departments—for the increased rewards attendant on the exercise of the mechanic arts—for the, continued growth of our population, and the rapidly reviving prosperity of the whole country. I shall be permitted to exchange congratulations with you, gentlemen of the two houses of Congress, on these auspicious circumstances, and to assure you, in advance, of my ready disposition to concur with you in the adoption of all such measures, as shall be calculated to increase the happiness of our constituents and to advance the glory of our common country.

Since the last adjournment of Congress, the executive has relaxed no effort to render indestructible the relations of amity which so happily exist between the United States and other countries. The treaty lately concluded with Great Britain, has tended greatly to increase the good understanding which a reciprocity of interest is calculated to encourage, and it is most ardently to be hoped that nothing may transpire to interrupt the relations of amity which it is so obviously the policy of both nations to cultivate.

A question of much importance still remains to be adjusted between them. The territorial limits of the two countries, in relation to what is commonly known as the Oregon territory, still remain in dispute. The United States would be at all times indisposed to aggrandize themselves at the expense of any other nation; but while they would be restrained by principles of honor, which should govern the conduct of nations, as well as that of individuals, from setting up a demand for territory which does not belong to them, they would as unwillingly consent to a surrender of their rights. After the most rigid, and as far as practicible, unbiassed examination of the subject, the United States have always contended that their rights appertain to the entire region of country lying on the Pacific, and embraced within the forty-second and fifty-fourth of north latitude. This claim being controverted by Great Britian, thsoe who have preceded the present executive, actuated, no doubt, by an earnest desire to adjust the matter upon terms mutually satisfactory to both countries, have caused to be submitted to the British government, propositions for settlement and final adjustment, which, however, have not proved heretofore, acceptable to it. Our minister at London has, under instructions, again brought the subject to the consideration of that government; and while nothing will be done to compromit the rights or honor of the United States, every proper expedient will be resorted to, in order to bring the negotiation now in the progress of resumption, to a speedy and happy determination. In the meantime, it is proper to remark, that many of our citizens are either already established in the territory, or are on their way thither, for the purpose of forming permanent settlements, while others are preparing to follow—and in view of these facts, I must repeat the recommendation contained in previous messages, for the establishment of military posts, on such places on the line of travel, as will furnish security and protection to our hardy adventurers against hostile tribes of Indians inhabiting those extensive regions. Our laws should also follow them, so modified as the circumstances of the case may seem to require. Under the influence of our free system of government, new republics are destined to spring up, at no distant day, on the shores of the Pacific, similar in policy and in feeling to those existing on this side of the Rocky mountains, and giving a wider and more extensive spread to the principles of civil and religious liberty.

I am happy to inform you that the cases which have arisen, from time to time, of the detention of American vessels by British cruisers, on the coast of Africa, under pretense of being engaged in the slave-trade, have been placed in a fair train of adjustment. In the case of the William and Francis, full satisfaction will be allowed. In the case of the Tygris and Seamew, the British government admits that satisfaction is due. In the case of the Jones, the sum accruing from the sale of that vessel and cargo, will be paid to the owners—while I cannot but flatter myself, that full indemnification will be allowed for all damages sustained by the detention of the vessel—and in the case of the Douglass, her majesty's government has expressed its determination to make indemnification. Strong hopes are therefore entertained, that most, if not all of these cases, will be speedily adjusted. No new cases have arisen since the ratification of the treaty of Washington; and, it is confidently anticipated, that the slave-trade, under the operation of the eighth article of that treaty, will be altogether suppressed.

The occasional interruption experienced by our fellow-citizens, engaged in the fisheries on the neighboring coast of Nova Scotia, has not failed to claim the attention of the executive. Representations upon this subject have been made, but as yet, no definitive answer to those representations has been received from the British government.

Two other subjects of comparatively minor importance, but nevertheless, of too much consequence to be neglected, remain still to be adjusted between the two countries. By the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, of July, 1815, it is provided that no higher duties shall be levied, in either country on articles imported from the other, than on the same articles imported from any other place. In 1836, rough rice, by act of parliament, was admitted from the coast of Africa into Great Britain on the payment of a duty of one penny a quarter, while the same article from all other countries, including the United States, was subject to the payment of a duty of twenty shillings a quarter. Our minister at London has, from time to time, brought this subject to the consideration of the British government, but so far without success. He is instructed to renew his representations upon it.

Some years since, a claim was preferred against the British government, on the part of certain American merchants, for the return of export duties paid by them on shipments of woolen goods to the United States, after the duty on similar articles exported to other countries, had been repealed, and consequently in contravention of the commercial convention between the two nations, securing to us equality in such cases. The principle on which the claim rests, has long since been virtually admitted by Great Britain, but obstacles to a settlement have, from time to time been interposed, so that a large portion of the amount claimed, has not yet been refunded. Our minister is now engaged in the prosecution of the claim, and I cannot but persuade myself that the British government will no longer delay its adjustment.

I am happy to be able to say that nothing has occurred to disturb in any degree, the relations of amity which exist between the United States and France, Austria, and Russia, as well as with the other powers of Europe, since the adjournment of Congress. Spain has been agitated with internal convulsions for many years, from the effects of which it is to be hoped she is destined speedily to recover—when, under a more liberal system of commercial policy on her part, our trade with her may again fill its old, and so far as her continental possessions are concerned, its almost forsaken channels, thereby adding to the mutual prosperity of the two countries.

The Germanic Association of customs and commerce, which, since its establishment in 1833, has been steadily growing in power and importance, and consists at this time, of more than twenty German States, and embraces a population of 27,000,000 of people united for all the purposes of commercial intercourse with each other, and with foreign states, offers to the latter the most valuable exchanges on principles more liberal than are offered in the fiscal system of any other European power. From its origin, the importance of the German union has never been lost sight of by the United States. The industry, morality, and other valuable qualities of the German nation, have always been well known and appreciated. On this subject, I invite the attention of Congress to the report of the Secretary of State, from which it will be seen that, while our cotton is admitted free of duty, and the duty on rice has been much reduced, which has already led to a greatly increased consumption, a strong disposition has been recently evinced by that great body, to reduce, upon certain conditions, their present duty upon tobacco. This being the first intimation of a concession on this interesting subject, ever made by any European power, I cannot but regard it as well calculated to remove the only impediment which has so far existed to the most liberal commercial intercourse between us and them. In this view, our minister at Berlin, who has heretofore industriously pursued the subject, has been instructed to enter upon the negotiation of a commercial treaty, which, while it will open new advantages to the agricultural interests of the United States, and a more free and expanded field for commercial operations, will affect injuriously no existing interest of the Union. Should the negotiation be crowned with success, its result will be communicated to both houses of Congress.

I communicate herewith certain despatches received from our minister at Mexico, and also a correspondence which has recently occurred between the envoy from that republic and the Secretary of State. It must be regarded as not a little extraordinary that the government of Mexico, in anticipation of a public discussion, which it has been pleased to infer from newspaper publications, as likely to take place in Congress, relating to the annexation of Texas to the United States, should have so far anticipated the result of such discussion, as to have announced its determination to visit any such anticipated decision by a formal declaration of war against the United States. If designed to prevent Congress from introducing that question, as a fit subject for its calm deliberation and final judgment, the executive has no reason to doubt that it will entirely fail of its object. The representatives of a brave and patriotic people will suffer no apprehension of future consequences to embarrass them in the course of their proposed deliberations. Nor will the executive department of the government fail, for any such cause to discharge its whole duty to the country.

The war which has existed for so long a time, between Mexico and Texas has, since the battle of San Jacinto, consisted for the most part of predatory incursions, which, while they have been attended with much of suffering to individuals, and have kept the borders of the two countries in a state of constant alarm, have failed to approach to any definite result. Mexico has fitted out no formidable armament, by land or by sea, for the subjugation of Texas. Eight years have now elapsed since Texas declared her independence of Mexico, and during that time she has been recognized as a sovereign power, by several of the principal civilized states. Mexico, nevertheless, perseveres in her plans of reconquest and refuses to recognize her independence. The predatory incursions to which I have alluded, have been attended, in one instance, with the breaking up of the courts of justice, by the seizing upon the person of the judges, jury, and officers of the court, and dragging them, along with unarmed, and therefore non-combatant citizens, into a cruel and oppressive bondage, thus leaving crime to go unpunished and immorality to pass unreproved. A border warfare is evermore to be deprecated, and over such a war as has existed for so many years between these two States, humanity has had great cause to lament. Nor is such a condition of things to be deplored only because of the individual suffering attendant upon it. The effects are far more extensive. The Creator of the universe has given man the earth for his resting-place, and its fruits for his subsistence. Whatever, therefore, shall make the first, or any part of it a scene of desolation, affects seriously his heritage, and may be regarded as a general calamity. Wars may sometimes be necessary; but all nations have a common interest in bringing them speedily to a close. The United States have an immediate interest in seeing an end put to the state of hostilities existing between Mexico and Texas. They are our neighbors, of the same continent, with whom we are not only desirous of cultivating the relations of amity, but of the most extended commercial intercourse, and to practice all the rights of a neighborhood hospitality. Our own interests are deeply involved in the matter, since, however neutral may be our course of policy, we cannot hope to escape the effects of a spirit of jealousy on the part of both of the powers. Nor can this government be indifferent to the fact that a warfare, such as is waged between those two nations, is calculated to weaken both powers, and finally to render them, and especially the weaker of the two, the subjects of interference on the part of stronger and more powerful nations, which, intent only on advancing their own peculiar views, may sooner or later attempt to bring about a compliance with terms, as the condition of their interposition, alike derogatory to the nation granting them, and detrimental to the interests of the United States. We could not be expected quietly to permit any such interference to our disadvantage. Considering that Texas is separated from the United States, by a mere geographical line, that her territory, in the opinion of many, formed a portion of the territory of the United States, that it is homogeneous in its population, and pursuits, with the adjoining States, makes contributions to the commerce of the world, in the same articles with them, and that most of her inhabitants have been citizens of the United States, speak the same language, and live under similar political institutions with ourselves, this government is bound, by every consideration of interest, as well as of sympathy, to see that she shall be left free to act, especially in regard to her domestic affairs, unawed by force, and unrestrained by the policy or views of other countries. In full view of all these considerations, the executive has not hesitated to express to the government of Mexico, how deeply it depreciated a continuance of the war, and how anxiously it desired to witness its termination. I cannot but think that it becomes the United States, as the oldest of the American republics, to hold a language to Mexico upon this subject, of an unambiguous character. It is time that this war had ceased. There must be a limit to all wars; and if the parent State, after an eight years' struggle, has failed to reduce to submission a portion of its subjects standing out in revolt against it, and who have not only proclaimed themselves to be independent, but have been recognized as such by other powers, she ought not to expect that other nations will quietly look on, to their obvious injury, upon a protraction of hostilities. These United States threw off their colonial dependence, and established independent governments; and Great Britain, after having wasted her energies in the attempt to subdue them, for a less period than Mexico has attempted to subjugate Texas, had the wisdom and justice to acknowledge their independence, thereby recognizing the obligation which rested on her, as one of the family of nations. An example thus set by one of the proudest, as well as most powerful nations of the earth, it could in no way disparage Mexico to imitate. While, therefore, the executive would deplore any collision with Mexico, or any disturbance of the friendly relations which exist between the two countries, it cannot permit that government to control its policy, whatever it may be, towards Texas; but will treat her as by the recognition of her independence, the United States have long since declared they would do, as entirely independent of Mexico. The high obligations of public duty may enforce from the constituted authorities of the United States a policy which the course persevered in by Mexico will have mainly contributed to produce; and the executive, in such a contingency, will with confidence throw itself upon the patriotism of the people to sustain the government in its course of action.

Measures of an unusual character have recently been adopted by the Mexican government, calculated in no small degree to affect the trade of other nations with Mexico, and to operate injuriously to the United States. All foreigners, by a decree of the 23d day of September, and after six months from the day of its promulgation, are forbidden to carry on the business of selling by retail any goods within the confines of Mexico. Against this decree our minister has not failed to remonstrate.

The trade heretofore carried on by our citizens with Santa Fé, in which much capital was already invested, and which was becoming of daily increasing importance, has suddenly been arrested by a decree of virtual prohibition on the part of the Mexican government. Whatever may be the right of Mexico to prohibit any particular course of trade, to the citizens or subjects of foreign powers, this late procedure, to say the least of it, wears a harsh and unfriendly aspect.

The instalments on the claims recently settled by the convention with Mexico, have been punctually paid as they have fallen due, and our minister is engaged in urging the establishment of a new commission, in pursuance of the convention, for the settlement of unadjusted claims.

With the other American States, our relations of amity, and good will have remained uninterrupted. Our minister near the republic of New Grenada, has succeeded in effecting an adjustment of the claim upon that government, for the schooner "By Chance," which had been pending for many years. The claim for the brig "Morris," which had its origin during the existence of the republic of Columbia, and indemnification for which, since the dissolution of that republic, has devolved on its several members, will be urged with renewed zeal.

I have much pleasure in saying that the government of Brazil has adjusted the claim upon that government, in the case of the schooner "John S. Bryon," and that sanguine hopes are entertained that the same spirit of justice will influence its councils in arriving at an early decision upon the remaining claims; hereby removing all causes of dissension between two powers, whose interests are to some extent interwoven with each other.

Our minister at Chili has succeeded in inducing a recognition by that government, of the adjustment effected by his predecessor of the first claims in the case of the "Macedonian." The first instalment has been received by the claimants in the United States.

Notice of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty with Peru, which will take place at Lima, has not yet reached this country, but is shortly expected to be received, when the claims upon that republic will doubtless be liquidated and paid.

In consequence of a misunderstanding between his government and that of Buenos Ayres, occurring several years ago, this government has remained unrepresented at that court, while a minister from it has been constantly resident here. The causes of irritation have in a great measure passed away, and it is in contemplation, in view of important interests which have grown up in that country, at some early period during the present session of Congress, with the concurrence of the Senate, to restore diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Under the provisions of an act of Congress of the last session, a minister was despatched from the United States to China, in August of the present year, who, from the latest accounts we have from him, was at Suez, in Egypt, on the 25th of September last, on his route to China.

In regard to the Indian tribes residing within our jurisdictional limits, the greatest vigilance of the government has been exerted to preserve them at peace among themselves, and to inspire them with feelings of confidence in the justice of this government, and to cultivate friendship with the border inhabitants. This has happily succeeded to a great extent; but it is a subject of regret that they suffer themselves, in some instances, to be imposed upon by artful and designing men—and this, notwithstanding all the efforts of the government to prevent it.

The receipts into the treasury for the calendar year 1843, exclusive of loans, were little more than eighteen millions of dollars; and the expenditures, exclusive of payments on the public debt, will have been about twenty-three millions of dollars. By the act of 1842, a new arrangement of the fiscal year was made, so that it should commence on the 1st day of July in each year. The accounts and estimates for the current fiscal year, will show that the loans and treasury-notes made and issued before the close of the last Congress, to meet the anticipated deficiency, have not been entirely adequate. Although on the 1st of October last, there was a balance in the treasury, in consequence of the provision thus made, of $3,914,082 77, yet the appropriations already made by Congress will absorb that balance, and leave a probable deficiency of two millions of dollars at the close of the present fiscal year. There are outstanding treasury-notes to about the amount of four millions six hundred thousand dollars; and should they be returned upon the treasury during the fiscal year, they will require provision for their redemption. I do not, however, regard this as probable, since they have obviously entered into the currency of the country, and will continue to form a portion of it, if the system now adopted be continued. The loan of 1841, amounting to $5,672,976 88, falls due on the 1st of January, 1845, and must be provided for or postponed by a new loan. And unless the resources of the revenue should be materially increased by you, there will be a probable deficiency for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1845, of upwards of four millions of dollars.

The delusion incident to an enormously excessive paper circulation, which gave a fictitious value to everything, and stimulated adventure and speculation to an extravagant extent, has been happily succeeded by the substitution of the precious metals, and paper promptly redeemable in specie, and thus false values have disappeared, and a sounder condition of things has been introduced. This transition, although intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, has nevertheless been attended with much embarrassment to the government, in its financial concerns. So long as the foreign importers could receive payment for their cargoes in a currency of greatly less value than that in Europe, but fully available here in the purchase of our agricultural productions, their profits being immeasurably augmented by the operation, the shipments were large, and the revenues of the government became superabundant. But the change in the character of the circulation from a nominal and apparently real value in the first stages of its existence, to an obviously depreciated value in its second, so that it no longer answered the purposes of exchange or barter, and its ultimate substitution by a sound metallic and paper circulation combined, has been attended by diminished importations, and a consequent falling off in the revenue. This has induced Congress, from 1837, to resort to the expedient of issuing treasury notes, and finally of funding them, in order to supply deficiencies. I cannot, however, withhold the remark, that it is in no way compatible with the dignity of the government, that a public debt should be created in time of peace to meet the current expenses of the government, or, that temporary expedients should be resorted to an hour longer than it is possible to avoid them. The executive can do no more than apply the means which Congress places in its hands for the support of government; and happily for the good of the country, and for the preservation of its liberties, it possesses no power to levy exactions on the people, or to force from them contributions to the public revenue in any form. It can only recommend such measures as may, in its opinion, be called for by the wants of the public service, to Congress, with whom alone rests the power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." This duty has, upon several occasions heretofore, been performed. The present condition of things gives a flattering promise that trade and commerce are rapidly reviving, and, fortunately for the country, the sources of revenue have only to be opened, in order to prove abundant.

While we can anticipate no considerable increase in the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, for reasons perfectly obvious to all, for several years to come, yet the public lands cannot otherwise than be regarded as the foundation of the public credit. With so large a body of the most fertile lands in the world, under the control and at the disposal of the government, no one can reasonably doubt the entire ability of the government to meet its engagements under every emergency. In seasons of trial and difficulty similar to those through which we are passing, the capitalist makes his investment in the government stocks, with the most assured confidence of ultimate reimbursement; and whatever may be said in a period of great financial prosperity, such as existed for some years after 1833, I should regard it as suicidal, in a season of financial embarrassment, either to alienate the lands themselves, or the proceeds arising from their sales. The first, and paramount duty of those to whom may be intrusted the administration of public affairs, is to guard the public credit. In re-establishing the credit of this central government, the readiest and most obvious mode is taken to restore the credit of the States. The extremities can only be made sound by producing a healthy action in the central government, and the history of the present day fully establishes the fact, that an increase in the value of the stocks of this government will, in a majority of instances, be attended by an increase in the value of the stocks of the States. It should, therefore, be a matter of general congratulation, that amidst all the embarrassments arising from surrounding circumstances, the credit of the government should have been so fully restored that it has been enabled to effect a loan of seven millions of dollars, to redeem that amount of treasury-notes, on terms more favorable than any that have been offered for many years. And the six per cent. stock which was created in 1842, has advanced in the hands of the holders to nearly twenty per cent. above its par value. The confidence of the people in the integrity of their government, has thus been signally manifested. The opinions relative to the public lands do not in any manner, conflict with the observance of the most liberal policy towards those of our fellow-citizens who press forward into the wilderness, and are the pioneers in the work of its reclamation. In securing to all such their rights of pre-emption, the government performs but an act of retributive justice, for sufferings encountered, and hardships endured, and finds ample remuneration in the comforts which its policy ensures, and the happiness which it imparts.

Should a revision of the tariff, with a view to revenue, become necessary, in the estimation of Congress, I doubt not you will approach the subject with a just and enlightened regard to the interests of the whole Union. The principles and views which I have heretofore had occasion to submit, remain unchanged. It can, however, never be too often repeated, that the prominent interest of every important pursuit of life, requires for success, permanency and stability in legislation. These can only be attained by adopting as the basis of action, moderation in all things, which is as indispensably necessary to secure the harmonious action of the political as of the animal system. In our political organization, no one section of the country should desire to have its supposed interests advanced at the sacrifice of all others; but union being the great interest, equally precious to all, should be fostered and sustained by mutual concessions, and the cultivation of that spirit of compromise, from which the constitution itself proceeded.

You will be informed, by the report from the treasury department, of the measures taken under the act of the last session, authorizing the re-issue of treasury-notes, in lieu of those then outstanding. The system adopted in pursuance of existing laws, seems well calculated to save the country a large amount of interest, while it affords conveniences, and obviates dangers and expense in the transmission of funds to disbursing agents. I refer you also to that report for the means proposed by the secretary to increase the revenue, and particularly to that portion of it which relates to the subject of the ware-housing system, which I earnestly urged upon Congress, at its last session, and as to the importance of which my opinion has undergone no change.

In view of the disordered condition of the currency at the time, and the high rates of exchange between different parts of the country, I felt it to be incumbent on me, to present to the consideration of your predecessors, a proposition conflicting in no degree with the Constitution, or with the rights of the States, and having the sanction, not in detail, but in principle, of some of the eminent men who had preceded me in the executive office. That proposition contemplated the issuing of treasury-notes, of denominations not less than five, nor more than one hundred dollars, to be employed in payment of the obligations of the government in lieu of gold and silver, at the option of the public creditor, and to an amount not exceeding $15.000,000. It was proposed to make them receivable everywhere, and to establish at various points, depositories of gold and silver, to be held in trust for the redemption of such notes, so as to ensure their convertibility into specie. No doubt was entertained that such notes would have maintained a par value with gold and silver, thus furnishing a paper currency of equal value over the Union, thereby meeting the just expectations of the people, and fulfilling the duties of a parental government. Whether the depositories should be permitted to sell or purchase bills under very limited restrictions, together with all its other details, was submitted to the wisdom of Congress, and was regarded as of secondary importance. I thought then, and think now, that such an arrangement would have been independent of all corporations, and the same eye which rests unceasingly on the specie currency, and guards it against adulteration, would also have rested on the paper currency, to control and regulate its issues, and protect it against depreciation. The same reasons which would forbid Congress from parting with the power over the coinage, would seem to operate with nearly equal force in regard to any substitution for the precious metals in the form of a circulating medium. Paper, when substituted for specie, constitutes a standard of value by which the operations of society are regulated; and, whatsoever causes its depreciation, affects society to an extent, nearly, if not quite, equal to the adulteration of the coin. Nor can I withhold the remark, that its advantages, contrasted with a bank of the United States, apart from the fact that a bank was esteemed as obnoxious to the public sentiment, as well on the score of expediency, as of constitutionality, appeared to me to be striking and obvious. The relief which a bank would afford by an issue of $15,000,000 of its notes, judging from the experience of the late United States Bank, would not have occurred in less than fifteen years; whereas, under the proposed arrangement, the relief arising from the issue of $15,000,000 of treasury notes, would have been consummated in one year; thus furnishing, in one-fifteenth part of the time in which a bank could have accomplished it, a paper medium of exchange, equal in amount to the real wants of the country, at par value with gold and silver. The saving to the government, would have been equal to all the interest which it has had to pay on treasury-notes of previous, as well as subsequent issues, thereby relieving the government, and, at the same time, affording relief to the people. Under all the responsibilities attached to the station which I occupy, and in redemption of a pledge given to the last Congress, at the close of its first session, I submitted the suggestion to its consideration, at two consecutive sessions. The recommendation, however, met with no favor at its hands. While I am free to admit, that the necessities of the times have since become greatly ameliorated, and that there is good reason to hope that the country is safely and rapidly emerging from the difficulties and embarrassments which every where surrounded it in 18 1; yet, I cannot but think that its restoration to a sound and healthy condition, would be greatly expedited by a resort to the expedient in a modified form.

The operations of the treasury now rest on the act of 1789, and the resolution of 1816, and those laws have been so administered, as to produce as great a quantum of good to the country, as their provisions are capable of yielding. If there had been any distinct expression of opinion given to show that public sentiment is averse to the plan either as heretofore recommended to Congress, or in a modified form, while my own opinion in regard to it would remain unchanged, I should be very far from again presenting it to your consideration. The government has originated with the States and the people, for their own benefit and advantage; and it would be subversive of the foundation principles of the political edifice which they have reared, to persevere in a measure which, in their mature judgments, they had either repudiated or condemned. The will of our constituents, clearly expressed, should be regarded as the light to guide our footsteps; the true difference between a monarchical or aristocratical government, and a republic being, that in the first, the will of the few prevails over the will of the many, while in the last, the will of the many should be alone consulted.

The report of the Secretary of War will bring you acquainted with the condition of that important branch of the public service. The army may be regarded, in consequence of the small number of the rank and file in each company and regiment, as little more than a nucleus around which to rally the military force of the country in case of war, and yet its services in preserving the peace of the frontiers, are of a most important nature. In all cases of emergency, the reliance of the country is properly placed in the militia of the several States, and it may well deserve the consideration of Congress, whether a new and more perfect organization might not be introduced, looking mainly to the volunteer companies of the Union for the present, and of easy application to the great body of the militia in time of war.

The expenditures of the war department have been considerably reduced in the last two years: contingencies, however, may arise, which would call for the filling up of the regiments with a full complement of men, and make it very desirable to remount the corps of dragoons, which, by an act of the last Congress, was directed to be dissolved.

I refer you to the accompanying report of the secretary, for information in relation to the navy of the United States. While every effort has been, and will continue to be made to retrench all superfluities and lop off all excrescences, which from time to time may have grown up, yet it has not been regarded as wise or prudent to recommend any material change in the annual appropriations. The interests which are involved are of too important a character to lead to the recommendation of any other than a liberal policy. Adequate appropriations ought to be made to enable the executive to fit out all the ships that are now in a course of building, or that require repairs, for active service, in the shortest possible time, should any emergency arise which may require it. An efficient navy, while it is the cheapest means of public defense, enlists in its support the feelings of pride and confidence which brilliant deeds and heroic valor have heretofore served to strengthen and confirm.

I refer you particularly to that part of the secretary's report which has reference to recent experiments in the application of steam, and in the construction of war steamers, made under the superintendence of distinguished officers of the navy. In addition to other manifest improvements in the construction of the steam engine, and application of the motive power, which has rendered them more appropriate to the uses of ships of war, one of those officers has brought into use a power which makes the steamship most formidable, either for attack or defense. I cannot too strongly recommend this subject to your consideration, and do not hesitate to express my entire conviction of its great importance.

I call your particular attention also to that portion of the secretary's report which has reference to the act of the late session of Congress which prohibited the transfer of any balance of appropriation from other heads of appropriation to that for building, equipment, and repair. The repeal of that prohibition will enable the department to give renewed employment to a large class of workmen who have been necessarily discharged in consequence of the want of means to pay them—a circumstance attended, especially in this season of the year, with much privation and suffering.

It gives me great pain to announce to you the loss of the steamship "The Missouri," by fire, in the Bay of Gibralter, where she had stopped to renew her supplies of coal, on her voyage to Alexandria, with Mr. Cushing, the American minister to China, on board. There is ground for high commendation of the officers and men, for the coolness and intrepidity, and perfect submission to discipline evinced under the most trying circumstances. Surrounded by a raging fire, which the utmost exertions could not subdue, and which threatened momentarily the explosion of her well-supplied magazines, the officers exhibited no signs of fear, and the men obeyed every order with alacrity. Nor was she abandoned until the last gleam of hope of saving her had expired. It is well worthy of your consideration whether the losses sustained by the officers and crew in this unfortunate affair should not be reimbursed to them.

I cannot take leave of this painful subject without adverting to the aid rendered upon the occasion, by the British authorities at Gibraltar, and the commander, officers, and crew of the British ship of the line, "The Malabar," which was lying at the time in the bay. Everything that generosity or humanity could dictate, was performed. It is by such acts of good will by one to another of the family of nations, that fraternal feelings are nourished, and the blessings of permanent peace secured.

The report of the Postmaster General, will bring you acquainted with the operations of that department during the past year and will suggest to you such modifications of the existing law as in your opinion the exigencies of the public service may require. The change which the country has undergone of late years, in the mode of travel and transportation, has afforded so many facilities for the transmission of mail matter out of the regular mail, as to require the greatest vigilance and circumspection in order to enable the officer at the head of the department to restrain the expenditures within the income. There is also too much reason to fear that the franking privilege has run into great abuse. The department, nevertheless, has been conducted with the greatest vigor, and has attained, at the least possible expense, all the useful objects for which it was established. In regard to all departments, I am quite happy in the belief that nothing has been left undone which was called for by a true spirit of economy, or by a system of accountability rigidly enforced. This is in some degree, apparent, from the fact, that the government has sustained no loss by the default of any of its agents. In the complex, but at the same time, beautiful machinery of our system of government, it is not a matter of surprise, that some remote agency may have failed for an instant to fulfil its desired office; but I feel confident in the assertion, that nothing has occurred to interrupt the harmonious action of the government itself, and that while the laws have been executed with efficiency and vigor, the rights neither of States nor individuals have been trampled on or disregarded.

In the meantime, the country has been steadily advancing in all that contributes to national greatness. The tide of population continues unbrokenly to flow into the new States and territories, where a refuge is found, not only for our native born fellow-citizens, but for emigrants from all parts of the civilized world, who come among us to partake of the blessings of our free institutions, and to aid by their labor, to swell the current of our wealth and power.

It is due to every consideration of public policy, that the lakes and rivers of the West should receive all such attention at the hands of Congress as the constitution will enable it to bestow. Works in favorable and proper situation on the lakes would be found to be as indispensably necessary in case of war, to carry on safe and successful naval operations, as fortifications on the Atlantic seaboard. The appropriation made by the late Congress for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi river, has been diligently and efficiently applied.

I cannot close this communication, gentlemen, without recommending to your most favorable consideration, the interests of this district. Appointed by the constitution its exclusive legislators, and forming, in this particular, the only anomaly in our system of government, of the legislative body being elected by others than those for whose advantage they are to legislate, you will feel a superadded obligation to look well into their condition, and to leave no cause for complaint or regret. The seat of government of our associated republics cannot but be regarded as worthy of your paternal care.

In connection with its other interests, as well as those of the whole country, I recommend, that at your present session you adopt such measures in order to carry into effect the Smithsonian bequest, as in your judgment will be best calculated to consummate the liberal intent of the testator.

When, under a dispensation of Divine Providence, I succeeded to the presidential office, the state of public affairs was embarrassing and critical. To add to the irritation consequent upon a long standing controversy with one of the most powerful nations of modern times, involving not only questions of boundary, which, under the most favorable circumstances, are always embarrassing, but at the same time important and high principles of maratime law—border controversies between the citizens and subjects of the two countries, had engendered a state of feeling and of conduct, which threatened the most calamitous consequences. The hazards incident to this state of things, were greatly heightened by the arrest and imprisonment of a subject of Great Britain, who, acting as it was alledged, as a part of a military force, had aided in the commission of an act violative of the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, and involving the murder of a citizen of the State of New-York. A large amount of claims against the government of Mexico, remained unadjusted, and a war of several years continuance with the savage tribes of Florida, still prevailed, attended with the desolation of a large portion of that beautiful territory, and with the sacrifice of many valuable lives. To increase the embarrassments of the government, individual and State credit had been nearly stricken down, and confidence in the general government was so much impaired that loans of a small amount could only be negotiated at a considerable sacrifice. As a necessary consequence of the blight which had fallen on commerce and mechanical industry, the ships of the one were thrown out of employment, and the operations of the other had been greatly diminished. Owing to the condition of the currency, exchanges between different parts of the country had become ruinously high, and trade had to depend on a depreciated paper currency in conducting its transactions. I shall be permitted to congratulate the country that, under an overruling Providence, peace was preserved without a sacrifice of the national honor; the war in Florida was brought to a speedy termination; a large portion of the claims on Mexico have been fully adjudicated, and are in a course of payment, while justice has been rendered to us in other matters, by other nations; confidence between man and man is in a great measure restored, and the credit of this government fully and perfectly re-established. Commerce is becoming more and more extended in its operations; and manufacturing and mechanical industry once more reap the rewards of skill and labor honestly applied. The operations of trade rest on a sound currency, and the rates of exchange are reduced to their lowest amount. In this condition of things, I have felt it to be my duty to bring to your favorable consideration matters of great interest in their present and ultimate results, and the only desire which I feel in connection with the future is, and will continue to be, to leave the country prosperous, and its institutions unimpaired.

JOHN TYLER.

WASHINGTON, December, 1843.

LETTER FROM CASSIUS M. CLAY.—SLAVERY,—THE EVIL,—THE REMEDY.

"And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? * * * * Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just: that His justice cannot sleep forever: that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."—*Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.*

To the Editor of the Tribune:

Thomas Jefferson never thought of the absurdity of debating the question, whether slavery be an evil, nor was he indulgent to the delusive idea that it would be perpetual. He reduced the subject to its certain elements; the master must liberate the slave, or the slave will exterminate the master. This conclusion is not weakened by the history of the past. The same color in the ancient republics, enabled the State to use emancipation as a safety valve; yet notwithstanding the thorough amalgamation of the freed man with the free born, servile wars nearly extinguished by violence, the noblest nations of antiquity: while no man dare say that slavery was not the secret cause of their ultimate ruin. But if "His justice" should "sleep forever," and the tragedy so awfully predicted, should never occur, still must we regard slavery as the greatest evil that ever cursed a nation.

Slavery is an evil to the slave, by depriving nearly three millions of men of the best gift of God to man—liberty. I stop here—this is enough of itself, to give us a full anticipation of the long catalogue of human wo, and physical, and intellectual, and moral abasement which follows in the wake of slavery.

Slavery is an evil to the master. It is utterly subversive of the Christian religion. It violates the great law upon which that religion is based, and on account of which, it vaunts its pre-eminence.

It corrupts our offspring by necessary association with an abandoned and degraded race, ingrafting in the young mind and heart all the vices, and none of the virtues.

It is the source of indolence, and destructive of all industry, which in times past, among the wise, has ever been regarded as the first friend of religion, morality, and happiness. The poor despise labor, because slavery makes it degrading. The mass of slaveholders are idlers.

It is the mother of ignorance. The system of common schools has not succeeded in a single slave State. Slavery and education are natural enemies. In the free States, one in 53 over 21 years, is unable to read and write: in the slave States, one in 13.3 is unable to write and read!

It is opposed to literature, even in the educated classes. Noble aspirations and true glory depend upon virtue and good to man. The conscious injustice of slavery hangs as a mill-stone about the necks of the sons of genius, and will not let them up!

It is destructive of all mechanical excellence. The free States build ships and steam cars for the nations of the world—the slave States import the handles for their axes—these primitive tools of the architect. The educated population will not work at all—the uneducated must work without science and of course without skill. If there be a given amount of mechanical genius among the people, it is of necessity developed in proportion as a whole, or part of the population are educated. In the slave States, the small portion educated is inert.

It is antagonistic to the fine arts. Creations of beauty and sublimity are the embodiments of the soul's imaginings: the fountain must surely be pure and placid whence these glorious, and immortal, and lovely, images are reflected. Liberty has ever been the mother of the arts.

It retards population and wealth. Compare New-

York and Virginia, Tennessee and Ohio—States of equal natural advantages, and equal ages. The wealth of the free States is in a much greater ratio, even superior to that of the slave States, than the population of the free is greater than that of the slave States. The manufactures of the slave as compared to those of the free States, are as 1 to 4 nearly, as is shown by statistics. I consider the accumulation of wealth in a less ratio.

It impoverishes the soil and defaces the loveliest features of nature. Washington advises a friend to remove from Pennsylvania to Virginia—saying that cheap lands in Virginia were as good as the dear lands in Pennsylvania, and anticipating the abolition of slavery, would be more productive. His anticipations have perished—slavery still exists—the wild brier and the red fox are now there the field-growth and the inhabitants!

It induces national poverty. Slaves consume more and produce less than freemen. Hence illusive wealth, prodigality and bankruptcy, without the capability of bearing adversity or recovering from its influence: then come despair, dishonor, and crime.

It is an evil to the free laborer, by forcing him, by the laws of competition—supply and demand—to work for the wages of the slave, food and shelter. The poor, in the slave States, are the most destitute native population in the United States.

It sustains the public sentiment in favor of the deadly affray and the duel—those relics of a barbarous age.

It is the mother and the nurse of *lynch law*, which I regard as the most horrid of all crimes, not even excepting paricide, which ancient legislators thought too impossible to be ever supposed in the legal code. If all the blood thus shed in the South, could be gathered together, the horrid image which Emmet drew of the cruelty of his judges, would grow pale in view of this greater terror.

Where all these evils exist, how can liberty, constitutional liberty, live? No, indeed, it cannot, and has not existed in conjunction with slavery. We are but nominal freemen, for, though born to all the privileges known to the constitution and the laws, written and prescriptive, we have seen struck down with the leaden hand of slavery, the most glorious banner that freedom ever bore in the face of men—"Trial by jury—liberty of speech, and of the press." The North may be liable to censure in Congress, for freedom of speech—may lose the privileges of the post-office, and the right of petition, and perhaps yet be free—but we, of the land of slavery, are ourselves slaves! Alas, for the hypocritical cry of liberty and equality, which demagogues sound forever in our ears! The Declaration of Independence comes back from all nations, not in notes of triumph and self-elation, but thundering in our ears the everlasting *lie*—making us infidels in the great world of freedom—raising up to ourselves idols of wood and stone, inscribed with the name of Deity, where the one invisible and true God can never dwell. The blood of the heroes of '76 has been shed in vain. The just expectations of Hamilton, and Franklin, and Sherman, and Morris, and Adams, of the North, are betrayed by the continuance of slavery. The fond anticipations of Washington and Jefferson, and Madison, and Mason, of the South, have not been realized. The great experiment of republican government has not been fairly tested. If the Union should not be perpetual, nor the American name be synonymous with that of liberty in all coming time, to slavery is at once the cause, the crime, and the avenger!

Are we indeed of that vaunted Saxon blood, which no dangers can appal, no obstacles obstruct, and shall we sit with shivering limbs and dewy feet by the running stream with inane features and stolid gaze, expecting this flood of evils to flow past, leaving the channel dry? We, who can conquer all things else, shall we be here only subdued, ingloriously whispering with white lips, There is no remedy? Are the fowls free in the wide heavens, the fishes secure in the depths of the ocean, the beasts untrammeled in the forest wilds, and shall man only, man formed in the image of Deity, the heir of immortality, be doomed to hopeless servitude? Yes, there is a remedy.

There is one of four consequences to which slavery inevitably leads:—A continuance of the present relative position of the master and the slave, both as to numbers, intelligence, and physical power; or an extermination of the blacks; or an extermination of the whites; or emancipation and removal, or emancipation and a community of interest between the races.

The present relative position between the blacks and whites, (even if undisturbed by external influence, which we cannot hope,) cannot long continue. Statistics of numbers show that in the whole slave States, the black increases on the white population. The dullest eye can also see that the African, by association with the white race, has improved in intellect, and by being transferred to a temperate clime, and forced to labor and to throw off the indolence of his native land, he is increasing in physical power; while the white, by the same reversed laws, is retrograding in the same respects. Slavery, then, cannot remain forever as it is. That the black race will be exterminated seems hardly probable, from the above reflections, and because the great mass of human passions will be in favor of the increase of the slaves ad interim. Pride, love of power, blind avarice, and many other passions, are for it; and against it, only fear in the opposite scale. We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that the slave population must increase till there is no retreat, but in extermination of the whites. Athens, Sparta, Sicily, and Rome, nearly, Hayti in modern times, did fall by servile wars. I have shown elsewhere, that the slavery of the blacks in the modern, is more dangerous than the slavery of the whites in the ancient system: then the intelligent slave was incorporated into the high caste of quondam masters, an eternal safety-valve, which yet did not save from explosions eminently disastrous.

The negative of the second proposition, then, establishes the third, unless we avail ourselves of the last—*emancipation*. If my reasoning and facts be correct, there is not a sane mind in all the South, who would not agree with me, that if we can be saved from the first named evils, by all means emancipate. *Emancipation is entirely safe.* Sparta and Athens turned the slaves by thousands into freedom with safety, who fought bravely for their common country. During the revolution, many emancipated slaves did good service in the cause of liberty. We learn from Mr. Gurney, and other sources to be relied upon, that British West India emancipation has been entirely successful, and productive of none of those evils which were so pertinaciously foretold by interested pro-slavery men. The British have regiments of black men who make fine soldiers—protectors, not enemies of the empire. But above all, I rely not upon sound *a priori* reasoning only, but rather upon actual experience. There are in the United States, by the last census, 386,265 free blacks; 170,758 of whom are in the free, the remainder in the slave States. There are also, 2,485,145 slaves—so that, in fact, about one-sixth of the whole black race in America are already free! No danger or evil consequence has ensued from the residence of these 386,265 freedmen among us. Who then will be so absurd as to contend that the liberation of the other five-sixths will endanger the safety and happiness of the whites? *I repeat, then, that emancipation is entirely safe.*

Emancipation must either be by the voluntary consent of the masters, or by force of law. I regard voluntary emancipation as the most probable, the most desirable, and the most practicable. For the slaveholding, land-holder, would not be less rich in consequence; the enhancement of the value of land would compensate for his loss in slaves. A comparison of the price of lands of equal quality in the free and slave States, will prove this conclusively. If, however, by force of law—the law having once sanctioned slaves as property, the great principle which is recognized by all civilized governments, that private property cannot be taken for public use without just compensation—dictates that slaves should not be liberated without the consent of the masters, or without paying an equivalent to the owners. Under the sanction of law, one man invests the proceeds of his labor in slaves, another in land; in the course of time it becomes necessary to the common weal to buy up the lands for redistribution or culture in common—how should the tax be laid? Of course upon lands, slaves, and personal property—in a word, upon the whole property of the whole people. If, on the other hand, it should nearly concern the safety and happiness of society, both the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder, that slaves should be taken and emancipated, then by the same legitimate course of reasoning, the whole property of the State should be taxed for the purpose. If emancipation shall take place by force of law, shall it be by the laws of the States, or by the law of Congress? Let Congress abolish slavery wherever she has jurisdiction—in the military places, in the territories, and on the high seas, and in the District of Columbia, if the contracts of cessions with Virginia and Maryland allow. I lay down the broad rule that Congress should do no more for the perpetuation of slavery, than she is *specially* bound to do. The debates in the federal convention, prove that the free States did not intend to assume the responsibilities of slavery. In the language of Roger Sherman and others, they could not acknowledge the right of "property in men." There is then no moral obligation in the Union, to sustain the rights of the South in slaves, except only they are morally bound to regard the contract with the South, and in the construction of that compact, the presumption in all cases of doubt is in favor of liberty. On the contrary, the United States are morally bound by all means consistent with the constitution, to extinguish slavery. The word slave is not used in the constitution, because the promise of all the southern members of the convention led to final emancipation, and a noble shame on all hands induced the expulsion of the word from the charter of human liberty. I cannot agree that there is any law superior to that of the federal convention. It is the part of Christians to model human laws after the Divine code, but the law in the present state of light from on high, must be paramount to the Bible itself. If any other practice should prevail, the confusion of religious interpretations of the Divine Will would be endless and insufferable. In a country where Jews, Christians, and Infidels, and Deists, and Catholics, and Protestants, and Fourierists, and Mormonites, and Millerites, and Shakers, all are concentrated into one nation, it would be subversive of all governmental action, that each sect should set up a Divine code, as each "understands it," superior to the constitution itself. If a case ever arises where conscience dictates a different doctrine—that the penalty of the law is rather to be borne, than its prescriptions obeyed—then also there arises at the same time, a case where the sufferer must look to God only, for approbation and sustainment—he has passed from all appeal to mankind.

I dissent, then, from the ultra anti-slavery and the ultra pro-slavery men. I cannot join the North in the violation of the constitution—I cannot stand by the South in asking the moral sanction of the North; nor do I regard it as a breach of the constitutional compact, that she should seek a higher grade of civilization by using all legal means for the entire expulsion of slavery in the United States. Congress having no power over slavery in the States, the States, each one for itself, where its constitution does not forbid, certainly has and should exercise the power of purchase and emancipation. In Kentucky the constitution forbids the legislature to act upon the subject. We must therefore look to a convention, or that which I most hope, to voluntary emancipation. Enlightened self-interest, humanity, and religion, are moving on with slow, yet irresistible force, to that final result. Let the whole North en masse, in conjunction with the patriotic of the South, withdraw the moral sanction and legal power of the Union, from the sustainment of slavery, then our existence as a people with undivided interests, may yet be consummated. May the Ruler of all nations, the common Father of all men, who is no respecter of persons, and whose laws are not violated with impunity by individuals nor by States, move us to be just, happy, and free. May that spirit which has eternally consecrated in the admiration of men, Salamis, and Marathon, and Bunker's Hill, and Yorktown, inspire our hearts, till the glorious principles of seventy-six shall be fully vindicated, and throughout the land shall be established. "Liberty and union, one and inseparable, now and forever." C. M. CLAY.

Lexington, Ky. Nov. 1843.

Communications.

THE FRIEND.

The communication herewith forwarded to the Standard, was sent several weeks since to the editor of "THE FRIEND." No notice has been taken either of it, or of a request for an interview with R. P. The letter, so kindly and temperately written, speaks for itself. The facts of which it makes mention, and others connected with it, proclaim, trumpet-tonged, the declension of that body from the principles and practices of the noble and true-hearted founders of the society. A society which has been emphatically a "light of the world," "a city set upon a hill;" what is it now but a stone of stumbling, and rock of offense," to those who are striving to *carry out* the principles for which its founders *contended*. Did *they* promulgate their views by "avoiding excitement?" by "keeping in the quiet?" or was it by crying aloud in the *streets and market places*, and by addressing those in authority with earnest rebuke and remonstrance. The society may continue to hold "the admirable doctrines of Fox and Penn, but they hold them in nullity and barrenness." With a name to live, are they not dead?

An array of facts might be presented, to show that the *practice*, (whatever may be its *professions*) is to countenance and uphold distinctions founded on complexion. Is it a sign of a return to correct feeling, that it is considered becoming to *disavow*, or find *excuses* for such practice? If so, truly we rejoice; for then would the deliverance of the slave be near at hand. Were the meeting houses of the Society of Friends, here, as in England, thrown open for those who plead for the bondmen, thousands, who now ask "Am I my brother's keeper?" would throng to hear; and hearing would be convinced that for them also a work was appointed, other than to hold these truths in the "untrodden silence of their sanctuary." S. P.

To the Editor of the Friend:

A few days since, a copy of your paper, dated 8th mo. 19, was handed to me; in which I read, with much pain, a communication from P. R., charging A. B. with having made, in the London convention, statements derogatory to the reputation of the Society of Friends; and denying that they set apart a bench in their religious meetings for colored people, or refuse to receive them into membership. I feel it to be my duty to send you a line on the subject, requesting that you will give it an insertion in The Friend. It was suggested to me that the person to whom A. B. alluded, as having made application for membership, was my beloved and lamented mother. If A. B. *did* make such a statement, doubtless he was in error; though I do not, for one moment, believe that he willfully misrepresented the matter. He is too good an abolitionist to do so. The fact, as it regards my mother, is simply this: At one time, while her children were in their infancy, she had a great concern to become a member of Friends Society; not only because she was fully convinced of the excellence of the principles professed by that Society, but because she earnestly desired that her children should receive the guarded education, which "Friends" give to theirs. She mentioned her concern to a "Friend," who said, "Do not apply; it will only be to have thy feelings wounded. Friends will not receive thee." Thus admonished, and feeling that prejudice had closed the door against her, she did not make her concern known to the society. There was nothing but my mother's *complexion*, to prevent her being a member; she was highly intelligent and pious, and her whole life blameless. A few years before her death, she was urged by a much-esteemed friend, a member of Friends Society, in New-York, to make application; he thought that one so worthy *would* not be refused. But her concern had passed away; she believed that the Lord did not require her to do so, and therefore felt no liberty to move in the matter, though she was a constant attendant of their meeting, till her last illness.

I was greatly surprised that P. R. should deny that there is a bench set apart for our people; because I have been a diligent attendant of your meetings, for more than twenty years, and I have always sat upon what I have heard called the "black bench." I still set there, *not from choice*, but because I believe Friends set it apart for our especial accommodation, and that I should not be permitted to sit elsewhere. The following incident confirmed me in this opinion. When the new meeting-house, at Sixth and Noble streets, was first opened, my mother was told that there would be no seat set apart for us; and she went to meeting with a determination not to sit upon the back bench, unless told to do so. She was accordingly seating herself in another part of the house, when she saw a Friend who beckoned to her from the back bench. My mother went to her. The "Friend" said, "This is the place." Mother asked her, "Is this bench set apart especially for colored people?" She replied, "Yes." I have no doubt the Friend was appointed, or appointed herself, to this office, through *mistaken kindness*.

If the back bench is not appropriated to our people, I would ask P. R. why it is that I have so often been wounded by hearing this remonstrance addressed to those who were willing to sit with us: "*This* bench is for the black people; "*This* bench is for the people of color." Since reading P. R's denial of a bench set apart, I have asked myself these questions: Am I under a delusion? Have I been in a dream all my life? Have I been treated with Christian kindness? with sisterly regard? Did the eye of fancy alone see those beloved friends, who were willing for Christ's sake to share our humiliation, turned away and refused a seat beside us. Was it the ear of imagination only, that heard the oft-repeated language, "This bench is for the black people;" "This bench is for the people of color." Ah, would it were a delusion, for then Friends would not be "verily guilty concerning their brother."

P. R. says very few of them incline to attend our meetings. Friends' mode of worship does not suit their dispositions. They are fond of music and excitement, and hence prefer their own meetings, where they regularly hear singing and preaching. In this, I think, P. R. is mistaken. I have frequently heard my mother say that very many of our people inclined to Friends' mode of worship; and she lamented the unchristian conduct that kept them out. I myself know some, whose hearts yearn for the quiet of your worshipping places, and who love the "still small voice," better than harp or viol. Some have gone out from "Friends," not because "they prefer their own meetings, where they regularly hear singing and preaching," but because they could not bear the cross of sitting on the "black bench." Ah, there are many poor stray starving sheep, wandering in this world's wilderness, who would gladly come into your green pastures, and repose them by your still waters; did not prejudice bar the entrance! I am persuaded the Lord has a controversy with "Friends," on this account. Let them see to it. S. M. D.

LECTURES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

CHESTER COUNTY, PA.
11th mo. 27, 1843.

The devoted holders of the "One hundred conventions," have just passed through our region; and I trust impressions have been made that will not soon be obliterated. Bradburn & Co. was the company allotted to our particular neighborhood; and although we were greatly disappointed by the absence of Douglas, who had parted with them at Pittsburg, and did not again join them until they reached West Chester, on the 25th, (thereby missing the Coatsville meeting, and several others further west,) still we had amply sufficient to keep up the interest of these meetings, in the power, plainness, and wit of Bradburn, and in the more mild, but not less earnest statement, and persuasive reasoning of White.

On first listening to Bradburn, the most of the people, including many of our friends, think him too severe; but upon a close examination, the greater number have to admit, that these severe things are *true*, and therefore ought to be said. I am almost ready to conclude that his mode of presenting the subject has been the means of stirring up a larger amount of inquiry and discussion than any other occurrence that has previously happened. Indeed, it seems as though we *needed* an earthquake shock, to startle the people from their apathy. As if aware of coming instrumentality, the great mass of the people, of our vicinity, courted their slumbering tendencies, by keeping aloof from the meeting. A most mortifying state of things, but it cannot last. A combination of causes will ere long, ring the unpleasant summons in their ears, that they too must wake to the work of freedom.

At West Chester, our ex-member of Congress thought him entirely too harsh and severe for that region; as also did some Friends, one of whom, an aged man, and a minister, interrupted several times, to defend the Society from what he professed to believe unjust charges, and rescue the voters of our county from the charge of abetting slavery. This called forth some pretty fair rounds of applause.

Whether the plaudits came from "people of the world," or fellow members, is unimportant to inquire. If from the former, it was an evidence that his sentiments did not clash with a corrupt popular opinion; if from the latter, it was an evidence that they too had got a little into "the world."

Owing to these interruptions, and contrary to his previous prospects, Bradburn remained behind next day, to hold another meeting in the court house, at which he gave notice he should prove the correctness of all his statements. The result I have not heard; but it cannot be otherwise than good. The place needed just such a man; for it is full, and running over, with politics and the popular piety of the day.

An incident of a thrilling nature occurred here, which is worth narrating. Just as William White was closing his opening speech, in the morning, and in sad tones was offering reasons for the absence of Douglas; that he had become alarmed, and dared not openly travel our State—that moment, a stir was seen amidst the crowd at the door, and the next, Douglas himself stood before them! White sprung forward, exclaiming, "There he is," grasped his hand, and at once introduced him to the audience. Douglas, made a few prefatory remarks, and gave way for dinner. In the afternoon he addressed the meeting, to the great interest and satisfaction of the audience.

And here allow me to offer a tribute to the talent, amiability, and devotion of our friend White.

He was unknown to us, and I judge to our friends generally in these parts, even by reputation, until his late visit; but he cannot remain unknown longer in the anti-slavery field; and to know him, is to love him.

I learn that he had never delivered an anti-slavery address, until he entered upon the mission of the hundred conventions; that he relinquished ease and luxury, to offer himself upon the altar of this cause; and he was well-nigh offered up a short time since, during his mission to the West.

If a few months of tuition and trial in the anti-slavery field, has endowed him with so much ability, and so many qualifications to serve our righteous enterprise, we may well look for great things, when time and experience shall have schooled him further in this work of mercy. The qualities of his mind and heart eminently fit him for the noble work.

Yesterday, in Kennett Square, I listened to Remond, for the first time. All my anticipations of his ability were realized. The Friends' meeting-house was crowded to excess; and after he had spoken about half an hour, a member of the late "Reform Convention" of this State, interrupted him, to state that there was as many persons outside of the house, as there were crowded within it, all anxious to hear; and that he would propose the speaker should stand in the door, or upon the horse-block in the yard, where all could hear. The latter was finally concluded upon, and from that stone platform, he poured forth a stream of eloquence to something like "*half an acre*" of the most attentive listeners, the remainder of the afternoon.

There were many passages of touching pathos and power in his remarks; some of which thrilled the tenderest chords, and drew tears from many eyes. Many a heart was touched, that had never before been reached; and many resolved to labor, who, till then, thought there was nothing to do.

Gay did not speak that day; and Monroe had staid a few miles behind, to attend another meeting.

The following day all were present. I am told the meetings remained crowded, and the interest sustained, up to the last moment.

Long, long, will these dear, toil-worn friends be remembered in our county, and the seed they have sown, I trust, will bring forth an hundred fold; I hope to our entire redemption.

Sincerely thy friend, J.

LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA.

DECEMBER 11th, 1843.

You will remember that yesterday a week, Stephen S. Foster attended Cherry street Friends' Meeting, and toward the close respectfully requested leave to make some remarks, which request was refused by one calling himself an officer of the society, and that the meeting was dissolved without allowing our friend a hearing. Yesterday, Mr. Foster was again at the meeting. There was an immense crowd in attendance, called together by previous notice, that George White would also be present. It was remarked that George White did not commence as promptly as is his custom, but that he waited till within about half an hour of the usual time of adjournment. He then rose and spoke about an hour and a half. A portion of his discourse was a palpable and severe attack upon the course which Mr. Foster has felt it his duty to pursue; namely, that of going into churches and meeting-houses, and taking what he considers a suitable opportunity of bearing his testimony against American slavery and its abettors. When he sat down, Stephen rose, and in a calm and dignified manner, commenced speaking; but before he had time to finish his first sentence, he was directed by one of the elders to take his seat. Great excitement in the meeting ensued. Several persons approached Foster to take him out. By this time all was confusion and disorder. Some were crying "Order! order! order!" Others, "carry him out! out with him!" &c. &c. Women cried; several screamed, and everything was in complete confusion. It was surprising to observe the malignity manifested toward Foster; to see the eagerness evinced to get at him, one would have really supposed that he had committed some most criminal outrage. It was with some difficulty that Alderman Mitchell, who is a regular attendant on the meeting, and who happened to be sitting near Foster, could prevent some of the excited multitude from laying violent hands on him. The most prominent of those who were for seizing him, were young men, members of the society. The first individual who took hold of him, was a plain Friend. In the midst of the melée, our friend Geo. Bradburn, who seemed alarmed for Foster's safety, turning to the elders and overseers on the gallery asked, "Do you think it is the intention of these Quakers to cut Mr. Foster's throat?" It was replied, that the persons he alluded to "were not Friends." He "thought they were," he said, "as some of them were dressed in the garb of Friends." I ought to have mentioned that Foster, in an interim of comparative order, made a second attempt to speak, and was saying something in allusion to the practice of "Jesus Christ," when George White interrupted him, saying "Jesus Christ never sanctioned thy proceedings, and never will."

Sufficient order was finally restored, to allow the alderman to take Mr. Foster out of the meeting. In the tussle, Foster had lost his cloak and hat, and they took him, thus, bare-headed, down the street with a large crowd around him, to the mayor's office. There he was put into a dark cellar—the usual lock-up, I believe—and kept till the mayor could be brought, which was in about half an hour afterwards. He had for a companion, in the mean time, a boy of the name of James, a lad who has been in the constant practice of attending Cherry street meeting; this lad had ventured to say to the alderman, "perhaps he (Foster) had a call to speak;" for which violation of the peace, as he doubtless regarded it, the valorous alderman seized him by the collar, and handed him over to another person to be carried to the lock-up.

When the mayor arrived, the alderman made his statement, observing among other things, that one object of arresting the prisoner, was to protect him from violence, for he verily believed, that if he had not interfered, there would have been blood shed. A friend of Mr. Foster gave bail in $250 for his appearance before the mayor this morning at 8 o'clock.

At the time appointed this morning, the parties appeared. Alderman Mitchell gave a detail of the main facts in the case, mingling his remarks with expresions of his strong attachment to the Society of Friends, of which, until lately, he said he had from his youth been a member, and bearing his testimony to the eminence of George F. White as a minister, who he said had preached yesterday with great satisfaction to the people, and as he believed, with Divine assistance. The intention of his statement, as I understood it, was to justify the course of the society, and to put the whole blame of the disturbance upon Mr. Foster. Thomas Earle, on behalf of Mr. Foster, said that he had also been brought up in the Society of Friends, and that the usages of the society were not, so far as he had observed, in keeping with the course pursued toward Mr. Foster. As he understood it, the practice was, when a person not a member, undertook to speak in meeting, to allow him to go on the first time without interruption; and even a second and third time, if there was nothing exceptionable in what he might have to say. If, however, there should be anything offensive in what such a speaker should utter, private remonstrance was usually resorted to, to prevent a repetition of the offense. In no case, however, was force appealed to, so far as he knew, except as a last resort, when repeated efforts of a private and moral character had failed. This much Mr. Earle thought it due to Mr. Foster to state.

The mayor made some remarks, justifying the efforts of the alderman, which, according to his statement, he had made to preserve the peace. But there was no evidence before him against the prisoner, and as no one appeared to prosecute the case, he dismissed the matter without, as he said, imputing blame to either of the parties. So ended the matter, so far as legal proceedings are concerned. But the excitement and discussion which it has given rise to, is not likely soon to terminate; and where the final end will be, doth not yet appear.

Great blame, of course, is attached to the abolitionists in this matter, and they are held responsible by some for the whole difficulty. But nothing could be more unjust than this. In the first place, whether Mr. Foster was right or wrong, he asks no one to endorse his course, nor have I heard a single abolitionist volunteer such an endorsement. He is the agent of no society; but acts on his own individual responsibility. But supposing, for the sake of argument, that he was beyond all question, wrong: will that justify the course pursued by Friends? The first time Foster went into Cherry street meeting, he respectfully requested leave to make some remarks upon certain duties of Christianity, which a previous speaker had been enforcing, and no one expressing disapprobation, he commenced to speak, and was proceeding to the evident satisfaction of many present, when an officer of the meeting requested him to take his seat. Not supposing that this person had the right to put him down, nor that he expressed the sense of the meeting, he declined taking his seat; and while matters were in this state, the meeting was dissolved by the usual signal from the gallery. Yesterday, when he made another respectful and calm attempt to speak, he was met in the manner already detailed. Now, he be right or wrong, who will not admit that the treatment which he received was rude, cruel, and unchristian, and especially inconsistent with the principles and practice of Friends?

There are two questions growing out of this occurrence. First: Is Mr. Foster's course right? This is a question that concerns Mr. Foster alone; unless there be some who may volunteer an endorsement. The second question is: Is the course pursued in this case by *Friends*, right? *This is the true question, and the one that most concerns members of that society to settle.*

I have admitted, for the sake of argument, and out of deference to the general opinion, without stating my own belief, that Mr. Foster's procedure was wrong. It is due to the truth, however, to state that Stephen S. Foster is a man of a most gentle and lovely spirit; of unimpeachable moral and religious character, and one who has endured much from his fidelity to his convictions of right. He went to the meeting, as I doubt not, from an imperative sense of duty; and from the same sense of duty, rose to speak. He could neither have staid away, nor kept silent, without doing violence to his conscience. But, thus actuated, and thus acting, he was refused a hearing by the elders in authority, and most rudely and malignantly treated by young members of the society. I have often seen that meeting tried by the speaking of persons, not members, and though both the matter and manner of their communications were unedifying to the people, I have admired to see the patience with which they have been endured. Why, then, this rude and indecent precipitancy in stopping the mouth of Foster? *What other reason can be given than the belief that he was going to speak upon the odious subject of abolition?*

THE TENTH MASSACHUSETTS A. S. FAIR,

Will open on Tuesday December 19th, at Amory Hall.

A variety too great to admit of description, of the most beautiful things, from London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Paris, and many other places, in addition to all that is rare and unique, collected at home, will render this an unequalled opportunity for the choice of

Christmas and New Year's Presents.

Among other new and attractive selections for the occasion, are expected two cases of articles from Paris,—comprising Bonnets, and articles of Ladies' dress, trousseaux, bronzes, printing press, gilt *balloons*, filled with gas, safe for drawing-room use, bonbons, boxes of toys, medallions, plated play service, small nécessaire, statuettes in *or moulu*, fourniture de bureaux,

THE BOOK TABLE

Will be furnished with every variety of beautiful writing materials, in the most excellent taste. Lewisian Seals, beautifully cut; boxes of sealing-wax, new wafers of six different kinds; some of the monuments of Paris. *Papetrie* ornamented and plain, of unexceptionable taste, in boxes, portfolios, cases and sachets. Pictorial letter paper of eight or ten varieties. Porcelain envelopes, and four other styles—one entirely novel. Music paper. Annuals. Rare autographs, old books. The entire manuscript of O'Connell's letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury,—very valuable. Gustave de Beaumont's book on Ireland, in English, translated by W. Taylor—the best book on Ireland extant, and not yet published here. Abdey's travels in the United States, never re-published. Models of English and Swiss cottage architecture. Card cases of the Killarney Arlentus-wood. Exquisite water-color sketches of Rhine scenery, from Tronnesworth, Johannesberg, Cologne, &c. Outline drawings from statues in the Vatican of the Muses. Pen and ink drawings. Bristol board, &c.

Tunbridge Ware.

Those who engaged articles, after last year's invoice of these beautiful things were disposed of, are informed that the requisite selection has arrived, consisting of every variety of small articles; winders, boxes, taper stands, paper-folders, tea-caddies, &c.

Statuettes,

Very beautiful, after the antique; a few copies of the most celebrated works of modern Sculptors, but principally clasic subjects.

Varieties,

Of all the numberless articles of all styles of workmanship, and of all prices, usually found at fancy Bazar's Infant's dresses, gentlemen's linen, silk aprons, richly quilted shirts. Bags of Berlin worsted, wrought with steel and gold beads,—purses, tapestry; tabouret, ottomans, screen and work-table fittings, slippers—gentlemen's ladies' and children's; many novelties in neck-ties and knitted woolen articles. An entirely new fashion of Ladies' gloves for drawing-room use. Splendid sofa and chair nets, cuffs, muffs, muffetees, collars, needle-books, pin and toilette cushions, net napkins, sham cloths, book-marks, boy's balls, hoops, bats and playthings of all sorts. dolls, and various toys.

Various sizes of Brioches—Stamboul cushions, sofa cushions, elbow cushions, watch guards, puzzles, children's dresses of a new material. Satin neck ornaments, very beautiful, being the Tartan of most of the clans whose names are Massachusetts family names also. A few of the small shawls for girls, called the "Alice-Mand," linen cambric pocket handkerchiefs.

Refreshments of tea, ice-creams, confectionary, fruit, sandwiches, &c.

"*Phristnachtbaum,*"

The Christmas Tree, with its accessories of music and painting will open at the Melodeon on Monday, Christmas night, December 25th. The beautiful "Christus Consolation" will be exhibited. Further particulars respecting this beautiful spectacle hereafter. Every arrangement for the convenient entrance and exit of a great crowd has been made.

M. W. Chapman,	*Lavinia Hilton,*
Ann T. G. Phillips,	*Hannah Tufts,*
Mary G. Chapman,	*Catherine Sargent,*
Susan Cabot,	*M. A. W. Johnson,*
Eliza Lee Follen,	*Caroline Weston,*
Olivia Bowditch,	*Anna R. Philbrick,*
Sarah S. Russell,	*Mary Young,*
Sarah B. Shaw,	*Harriet Jackson,*
Helen E. Garrison,	*Mary F. Rogers,*
Louisa Loring,	*Louisa M. Sewell,*
Anne Warren Weston,	*Caroline F. Williams,*
Thankful Southwick,	*Abby Southwick,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Mary Willey,*
Maria White,	*Marian Fuller.*

TALES OF OPPRESSION.

BY ISAAC T. HOPPER

No. LXXVI.

John and Phœbe.

John Emmons, and Phœbe his wife, lived in East Jersey. I am unable at this remote period to recall the name of their master. It appeared that he had been kind to them, and with the exception of their captivity, they had not much to complain of; and in return they had been faithful servants. Their master had frequently promised them that they should be free at his death; and to satisfy them, he executed a document, which he told them was a manumission. In process of time, he died; and soon after that time John and Phœbe went to Philadelphia. They had not been long in that city, before the executor of the master pursued them there, had them arrested, and committed to prison. I was informed of the circumstance, and immediately repaired to the prison, and had an interview with them. They showed the manumission papers. The laws of New Jersey required that any person manumitting a slave, after he had arrived at a certain age, should give security to the overseers of the poor, to indemnify the township in case they should become chargeable. This security was not given. I had an interview with the executor, and endeavored to prevail upon him to let the captives go free; but without effect. I then applied to John Inskeep, one of the associate judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who ordered a habeas corpus, to bring the slaves before him. They were past their youth; I think they were not less than forty-five years old. The claimant attended with his counsel, who contended that the manumission was void, on account of the omission abovementioned. I contended that as regarded the freedom of the colored people, it was valid; though it might not exonerate the estate of the master. After much altercation, the judge proposed that the matter should be referred to the judges of the Supreme Court. That course was finally adopted, and the captives were remanded to prison. They were well clad, looked respectable, and appeared intelligent, for persons in their circumstances. The idea of being returned into slavery, was extremely painful to them, as well as myself. In a few days, their case was brought before the judges of the Supreme Court. Joseph Hopkinson attended as counsel for the colored people, and Sampson Levy for the claimant. Joseph Hopkinson informed me, before the case came on, that he had faint hopes of success; but said he would do the best he could. The appearance of the aged couple, and their modest deportment, made a deep impression upon the whole auditory, and excited great sympathy. The case occupied the attention of the court most of the forenoon. Judge Shippen finally delivered his opinion, that the manumission was void, and surrendered them to the claimant. Upon hearing the decision of the court, they both burst into tears. I believe there was not an individual who witnessed the scene unmoved with compassion. The next morning, they were removed to New Jersey.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, DEC. 14, 1843.

DECENNIAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A special meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was held pursuant to a resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the society, in May last, in the meeting-house of the Second Independent Universalist Church, in Philadelphia, on the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th of December, 1843.

In the absence of the president, Robert Purvis, one of the vice presidents, took the chair, and the meeting having come to order, Thomas Earle, Lindley Coates, Richard Janney, and David Lee Child, were appointed to act as vice presidents, and Benjamin S. Jones, Wm. A. White, Mary Grew, and Alice Eliza Hambleton, to serve as secretaries.

The chairman stated the object of the meeting to be, the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the society's formation; and expressed a hope that all the business that would come before the society, would be transacted in love and harmony; and concluded by congratulating the friends of freedom on the progress of their principles within the last ten years, and he trusted that before ten years more had passed by, our country would be indeed free, as she is now in name, and that our soil would no longer be polluted by the presence of tyrant or slave.

The "Declaration of Sentiment" adopted by the society in 1833, was read by Wm. A. White, one of the secretaries; after which the following resolution was offered by Charles C. Burleigh:

Resolved, That the experience of the last ten years, has given abundant cause for confidence in the great principles announced in this city ten years ago, as the basis of the organization of this society, and in their power to achieve a glorious victory over the giant evil which we then banded together to oppose by their promulgation.

It was advocated by the mover, Frederic Douglas, Thomas Earle, Wm. A. White, Lucretia Mott, and Henry Grew; and on motion, unanimously adopted.

The following named persons were appointed a business committee, J. Miller McKim, C. C. Burleigh, Thomas Earle, Lucretia Mott, George Bradburn, Fred. A. Douglas, Sidney H. Gay, David Lee Child, S. S. Foster, Sarah Pugh, Samuel D. Hastings, and Wm. Whipper.

Business committee reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That this society reiterates the doctrine put forth at its last annual meeting, that a total separation from pro-slavery parties and sects, is essential to the speedy triumph of our cause.

S. S. Foster spoke in advocacy of it; after which it was laid on the table, for the purpose of introducing a resolution inviting all persons who are, or may be, present at our meeting, to take part in the discussion; which was carried.

On motion, adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon session.—The society met. The resolution under discussion at adjournment this morning, was taken up for further consideration. It was discussed by D. L. Child, George Bradburn, C. C. Burleigh, S. S. Foster, and Charles Gardner, when it was again laid on the table.

Thomas Earle, S. S. Foster, D. L. Child, Lucretia Mott, and Wm. A. White, were appointed a committee to prepare an address to abolitionists.

Business committee further reported; after which the meeting adjourned to 9 1-2 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

December 5th.—The meeting convened at the hour to which it stood adjourned. The resolution under discussion yesterday, was this morning further considered. It was moved to amend by substituting "withdrawal of fellowship and support," instead of "a total separation." The amendment and resolution was discussed by H. Grew, Lucretia Mott, G. Bradburn, Wm. S. Pierce, F. A. Douglas, and Pliny E. Chase. The amendment was adopted. D. L. Child moved further to amend, by inserting after "sects," "and associations of every kind."

Business committee further reported.

The debate was then continued. J. M. McKim moved that the whole question be laid opon the table, and the resolutions reported by the business committee, in relation to "liberty party," be made the order of the day for 3 o'clock this afternoon; pending the discussion of this matter, a motion was made to adjourn to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M. which was carried, and the meeting accordingly adjourned.

Afternoon.—The society again met. The discussion of the resolutions under consideration at this morning's session was resumed. S. S. Foster offered a substitute, which was spoken to by the mover, Henry Grew, and Thomas Earle, and was then withdrawn. The debate then recurred to the original resolution, and was sustained by D. L. Child, and S. S. Foster; on motion of Thomas Earle, it was then referred to the business committee.

Voted, That the speakers be limited in their remarks to fifteen minutes each.

The following resolution reported by the business committee, was then called up, and discussed by Thomas Earle, G. Bradburn, D. L. Child, Wm. A. White, and S. Aaron; and on motion adopted:

Resolved, That we earnestly exhort all abolitionists not to be seduced into the support of any candidate for any office connected with legislation, on the pretext that such candidate is favorable to the right of petition for free men, or opposed to the admission of Texas, or to the encroachments of southern slaveholders on northern rights—inasmuch as these questions, taken all together, are of slight importance in comparison with the great question of slavery itself; and we therefore recommend that such candidates receive no support, directly, or indirectly, from abolitionists, unless they publicly avow themselves favorable to the abrogation of all laws and constitutional provisions which require the aid of public officers or private citizens for the retaining of human beings in a state of slavery.

Then adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

Morning session, December 6th.—The society again met:

Voted, That no person be permitted to speak more than once on any question, until all others have had an opportuity to speak, and that they be limited to ten minutes each.

The

committee, was adopted, and Thomas Earle, J. Miller McKim, Charles C. Burleigh, and Thomas S. Cavender appointed the committee.:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to correspond with members of Congress, and endeavor to induce them to offer and obtain a vote on resolutions for amending the constitution, so that it shall not require the government or the people to support slavery, or aid in slaveholding; or, in case that they believe that the constitution does not require the support of slavery, then to propose that they obtain a vote on the repeal of the act of Congress of 1793, respecting fugitive slaves.

On motion of Lucretia Mott, it was

Resolved, That the local anti-slavery societies throughout the United States, be urgently requested to call meetings immediately, for the purpose of raising funds to liquidate the debt of the American Society; and that the representatives of these societies who are now present, be requested to call such meetings, and use their influence to carry this recommendation into effect immediately on their return home.

Sidney H. Gay moved:

That a committee be appointed by this convention, of one or more persons from each of the States represented here, to take the subject of finance into consideration, and make arrangements in the different States by sub committees, or such other means as they may think proper, to collect funds for the liquidation of the debts of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The motion was agreed to, and the following named persons appointed to constitute the committee: James Monroe, of Connecticut; F. A. Douglas and Sidney H. Gay, of Massachusetts; Hiram S. Gilmore, of Ohio; Drs. Fussell and Sandborn, of Indiana; Thomas Whitson, Sarah Pugh, and S. D. Hastings, of Pennsylvania; Robert Ely, B. Rush Plumley and Enoch Middleton, of New Jersey; Benjamin Webb, of Delaware; Edward Southwick, of Maine; Peleg Clark, of Rhode Island; and Joseph Post, of New-York.

The hour having arrived for the consideration of the free produce resolution, it was taken up and discussed by S. S. Fonter, Thos. Whitson, Thos. Earle, C. C. Burleigh, Geo. Bradburn, Thos. Hambleton, Sarah Pugh, Lindley Coates, Lucretia Mott, Mary Grew, D. L. Child, and S. H. Gay; and was then disposed of by laying it on the table.

S. S. Foster offered the following:

Resolved, That it is the wish of this society, that the business meetings of its executive committee during the current year be held at Boston, in order to secure the counsels and active co-operation of its president and those members of the committee who reside in that vicinity; unless a majority of the committee should deem it inexpedient.

It was debated by the mover, J. Miller Mckim, and D. L. Child. It was amended by inserting "from the earliest practical date," instead of "during the current year." J. A. Collins moved further to amend, by striking out all after "Resolved," and inserting, "That this society recommends, that that portion of the constitution which makes it necessary to have the committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, located in New-York city, be so altered at the next annual meeting, that the executive committee may be located in any part of the country which the society may select. The amendment was concurred in, and the resolution, as amended, was adopted; and the secretaries directed to lay it before the executive committee.

Business committee further reported. The following resolution reported by them, was taken up, considered, and adopted:

Resolved, That although correct political action will be only one of the natural results of the reception of anti-slavery truth; yet, for the promulgation of that truth, we continue to rely, as we did ten years ago, mainly on those moral influences which operate upon the understanding and the conscience, "the opposition of moral purity, to moral corruption, the destruction of error by the potency of truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance."

On motion, the resolution reported by the business committee in relation to Texas, was then taken up, and after considerable discussion, and some amendment, adopted as follows: That we regard the project of annexing Texas to these United States, as designed for the extension and perpetuation of slavery, the slave-trade, and slaveholding tyranny and extortion throughout the land; as unjust and perfidious to Mexico and to this country, and equivalent, if accomplished, to a dissolution of the Union.

Thomas Earle presented the following protest, which the secretaries were directed to enter on the minutes:.

PROTEST.

The undersigned protests against the adoption of the resolution in relation to Texas, because the society refused to insert the words, "as a slave-holding State:" thus pronouncing against its annexation even as a free State, thus converting the American Anti-Slavery Society into a conclave to settle questions of politics, having no necessary connection with the anti-slavery cause: because it declares that its annexation would be "unjust and perfidious to Mexico," it being a question with which this society has nothing to do: and also because it undertakes, to decide, that the admission of Texas into the Union, either as a free or slave State, would be equivalent to "a dissolution of the Union," which is a question with which the society has nothing to do; nor does the undersigned believe it to be true in point of fact—and because its adoption can serve no practical purpose, other than to advance the ambitious design of perfidious politicians, who have betrayed, and would again betray, the anti-slavery cause.

I will add, that I am opposed to the admission of Texas as a slave holding State, and would have voted for a resolution to that effect. THOMAS EARLE.

On motion of Charles C. Burleigh, Resolved: That this society disclaims the interpretation given to its adoption of the resolution concerning Texas, by the protest of Thomas Earle.

The chairman of the committee, on an address to abolitionists, reported they had not been able to prepare the document in question, and asked to be discharged; which was done.

The resolutions which Thomas Earle intended to call up at a previous session of the society for its action, in relation to the course pursued by John Quincy Adams, and which were prefaced by a request from between 20 and 30 of its members that they consider them; were now introduced, and are as follows:

Whereas, this society has heretofore expressed its approbation of a portion of the public conduct of John Quincy Adams, supposed to have some connexion with the subject of slavery, and from the views taken by the people of this country, and of the civilized world of his supposed connection with the anti-slavery enterprise, his acts and opinions may be taken as generally receiving our countenance and approbation:

Therefore, we feel imperiously bound publicly to protest against the course of John Quincy Adams, for the following, among other reasons, viz:

Because he has asserted in substance, that the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, would be a violation of the principles of that Declaration of Independence, which proclaims the inalienable right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Because he has asserted that the repeal by Congress, without the consent of a majority of the people of the District of Columbia, of that law by which the people of the whole Union, aid in enslaving men in the district, would be a violation of republican principles, and especially of the doctrine of the right of the majority to govern; thus, in effect, conceding to the people of that district, the right to make the whole Union co-operate in their crime, but denying the right of the whole Union to suppress their crimes.

Because he has alledged, that the constitution as it is, and implied that even with a change of the constitution, the government cannot rightfully emancipate any of the present generation of slaves, either in the territories of the Union, or elsewhere.

Because he has proposed to suffer, not only the present generation of slaves, but also all born of slave parents, for seven years yet to come, to live and die in a state of servitude, forced so to remain by an act of the government and people of this Union.

Because he has recently proclaimed the absurd dogma, that it is "*impossible*" to abolish slavery in this country, until it shall have been first abolished by the "barbarian people" of Africa.

Because he has declared that the principles of democracy, are those of truth and Christianity, and that every man who pofesses democracy and holds a slave, has hypocrite stamped on his forehead, and yet he has recently applauded a professor of democracy, the owner of some fifty slaves, and the avowed opponent of emancipation, gradual or immediate, as not only one of the ablest men with whom he had ever co-operated, but also one of the most amiable and worthy, and this in a manner uncalled for, and with an apparent intention of promoting the success of that slaveholder as a candidate for the first office in our government.

Because he supported the admission of Arkansas into the Union, as a slaveholding State, and has avowed himself favorable to the admission of Florida in the same manner.

Because he has recently published a doubt, whether it is not better for Africans to be in slavery in America, than in freedom in their native country.

Because he has lately proclaimed in reference to slavery, the doctrine that the laws of man are entitled to more obedience than the laws of God.

Because, while he has often expressed the utmost indignation, and the severest censure, in reference to encroachment by slaveholders upon the rights of northern freemen, he has rarely uttered a word to portray the manifold wrongs done to the slave, to express the least indignation at those wrongs, or to excite the least feeling of commiseration on his behalf.

Because, after having for years aroused the abolitionists with the idea that he believed immediate emancipation in the District of Columbia' constitutional, and with the hope that he would support it as soon as a majority should favor it, he has recently crushed those hopes by the annunciation for the first time of a different construction of the constitution.

Because, while holding a seat in Congress by the votes of abolitionists, he has never attempted to obtain a vote of that body, on any measure for effecting the emancipation of a single State, or for effecting the abolition of slavery any where, by any process, either gradual or immediate.

Because he avowed that his object in wishing to refer petitions for immediate abolition in the District of Columbia, to a committee, was to put the question permanently to rest in the negative; and he also declared, that the southern members of Congress often expressed his opinions on this subject, more nearly than those of the North.

Because, while professing to be the defender of the right of petition, and in some cases nobly sustaining that right, he has, nevertheless, moved and obtained the passage of a rule which consigned our petitions privately to the speaker for suppression, without any public annunciation of the fact of their presentation; and he has from the time of the proposed resolution for censuring him, to the present day, altogether neglected or refused to present a single one of the petitions entrusted to him, of the same character with that which led to the motion for a vote of censure upon his conduct.

All of which actions and declarations combined, show a lamentable imperfection of head or of heart, or of both combined; and demonstrate the necessity of checking the propensity to promote the exaltation of Mr. Adams's reputation, which would give currency to his pernicious opinions, and applause to his defective action, and of proclaiming to the world, that we n either encourage political support of the man, nor approve of the general course of his public opinions, or conduct in reference to slavery.*

The resolutions were referred to a committee, consisting of the following named persons, to report to a future meeting of this society: T. Earle, D. L. Child, R. Purvis, J. M. M'Kim, and G. Bradburn.

On motion Resolved, That the cordial thanks of the American Anti-Slavery Society, be and are hereby presented to the trustees of the second Independent Universalist church, of Philadelphia, for their liberality and kindness, in opening their house for the meeting of said society.

The president announced that the committee on collection, had taken up in cash and pledges, $671 50, a silver watch, and a silver pencil-case.

The meeting then adjourned, *sine die*.

ROBERT PURVIS, *President.*

BENJ. S. JONES, WM. A. WHITE, MARY GREW, ALICE E. HAMBLETON, } *Secretaries.*

*This impeachment was *warmly* opposed by several, and supported by the mover alone. A large majority of the society appeared to be averse to entertaining the subject in any way whatsoever. The final determination to refer it, was induced partly to get rid of the subject at the close of the session, and partly from a desire to avoid the imputation of suppressing inquiry. We are persuaded that not one in a hundred of the society present, would, in any final action, permit the slightest imputation to rest on the character of John Quincy Adams, through any agency of the American Anti-Slavery Society. They differ from him in opinion on several points, but they respect his motives, they reverence his heroic devotion to what he conceives to be the truth and his duty; and fully appreciate the importance of his services to the cause of abolition, and of universal right and liberty.—ED.

VOLUNTEER PREACHING.

A letter, to-day, from a Philadelphia correspondent, gives an account of the attempt of Stephen S. Foster, to obtain a hearing at the Friends' meeting in Cherry street, in that city. Mr. Foster's manner of going about and doing good, as he supposes and intends, to the souls of all who will listen, and to the souls and bodies of the chained, tortured, and mind-entombed millions of American citizens, is too well known to require a description. We have always disapproved of it, and so far as we have spoken at all on the subject, have so declared. Our opinion remains unaltered, and we perform a plain duty when we disclaim for ourself, and for those whom we are charged to represent all connection with his peculiar operations. On the other hand, we owe it to Mr. Foster, to declare that we have the highest respect for his motives, appreciate his disinterested zeal, and admire the moral courage, which he manifests in his labor of love for the oppressed, and lowly of our race. We listened to an address of his, at the late Decennial meeting, showing the connection of abolition with the rights, interests, and freedom of *all* workingmen, with unmingled satisfaction. Seldom has it been our lot to hear a more judicious, forcible, and effective speech. It quieted, as with the wand of a magician, the popular elements of a great city, previously lashed into a storm.

While we disapprove, on the ground both of principle and expediency, the interruption of the worship or business of any assembly, in rightful and peaceful possession of their own house, we are of opinion that they ought to respond kindly and courteously, when their services or purposes are accomplished, to any competent and well-meaning person, who thinks that he has aught that is pertinent and profitable to deliver. In almost any case, except that of evident insanity, it would be far best to let him try; and the refusing to do so, generally argues a fear of the truth, which he is expected to utter. The poet says: "'Tis a rotten house that will not bear shaking." This is as true of a meeting-house, as of any other.

What course, then, ought just and conscientious men to pursue in this matter? They cannot have the heart, at any rate not for any considerable time, to deal harshly with a man so devoted, conscientious, inoffensive, non-resisting, and eloquent withal, as Stephen S. Foster. We would respectfully suggest that when the regular services or business of any assembly, religious or secular, where he may appear, is completed, and he requests to be heard, the request be granted. And in case there be any who do not feel disposed to hear him, that they quietly withdraw. There are those who have become so wedded to form and routine as to be ready to sacrifice to them that instruction and real edification, which it is the design of all forms to facilitate and secure. We respect the feelings of such; but we cannot perceive how they should be injured, or any harm done by the course that we propose.

It being, however, in our judgment, a manifest violation of right and duty, to take possession of a meeting, or any other house, without the consent, and against the will of the occupants, and if persisted in, much more likely to harden their hearts, than to enlighten their understandings, we would respectfully suggest to Mr. Foster that he do not speak in others' meetings without their consent, either expressed or implied. If the majority are unwilling to hear him, or to come to a distinct expression on that point, or to withdraw from the house, and leave it free to him and those who are inclined to listen, then we think that justice and sound policy demand that he should yield. To persist is to do evil that good may come.

We venture with the less reluctance, to offer these observations, because, we sincerely believe that Mr. Foster is capable of doing a great work, and that there are few congregations in the land, who, if he and they could come to a right understanding as to the way, would not hear him gladly. There are thousands of congregations and pastors to whom a visit from Foster would be what the descent of the angel was to the pool of Bethesda. And if they should refuse for the time his ministrations, the notice of his desire, which is thereby published in many ears, will abide and ultimately draw them to some other place. A disinterested and ardent love of doing good in this important way, cannot, without some very great blunder, be long frustrated; but a forbearing and benign, as well as firm and faithful course, is more likely, than great obstinacy and pertinacity to win and to benefit our countrymen, and mankind.

THOMAS W. GILMER.

It has so happened that we have had much to say of this ex-Governor of Virginia. It is well known that he is a Tyler man, and an important part of "the power behind the throne." He wrote a letter last winter, on the annexation of Texas. He is deep in the *Texas land speculation*. He is one of the fiercest for getting this country into a wicked and rapacious war, in order, among other objects, that he may realize a princely fortune from his Texas land *scrip*. Fortunately, it turns out that he is not elected, though he has taken the seat. Mr. *William Goggin* is elected instead of him.

We have been informed that the prominent Southern politicians, with few exceptions, are interested in the same speculation. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Preston were reported, at Washington, as among them. It is very probable that Mr. Waddy Thompson, our minister to Mexico, is so, too. We hear from a friend, lately from that country, that Thompson's deportment in his mission, is insolent and irritating. Mexico was forced, by their intrigues and outrages, to request the recall of *Poinsett* and *Butler*, two of Thompson's predecessors. Why do they tolerate Thompson? They will only lose *ground*, by submitting to insult and abuse. If Mexico must fall a prey to Southern tyranny and rapacity, we feel interested, as a friend of freedom and justice, that she should at least fall with honor. She has gained nothing but loss, by a temporizing policy towards our unprincipled government, and its worthy representatives.

AMBASSADOR FROM THE KING OF DELHI.

"Mr. George Thompson (who accompanied the celebrated merchant Dwarkanauth Tajore to India) is now regularly in luck. After speechifying to the black rads at Calcutta, he was off for Delhi, and has since been appointed ambassador from the king to the Court of St. Jame's!—his personal pay is 1,000 rupees, monthly. He was met five miles from Delhi by a crowd of nobles, with an Indian phalanx of attendants and followers, and was taken to the Begum's (queen's) palace; the king's private elephant richly capasrioned in all the regal style of Asiatic splendor, was in attendance for him, and the howdah or car, glittering with jewels and splendid trappings."

The foregoing is from the India correspondent of the *London Morning Post*. It more than confirms our anticipation of the brilliant rewards awaiting the long self-sacrifice, ability and fidelity of GEORGE THOMPSON. Some friends have expressed disappointment that Mr. Thompson should be removed by his embassy from the sphere of duty, supposed to be assigned him as "Landholders' agent." We did look for great benefits to the poor peasants and emancipated slaves of Hindostan, from Mr. Thompson's employment, both by the native government and the East India Company in that capacity. But it is very probable that the objects of the latter appointment may be more surely and speedily accomplished by Mr. Thompson's residence in his new capacity near the British court, than by the use of any means which he could employ in India. At all events, we have confidence that George Thompson will not sacrifice utility to show, or humanity to self-aggrandizement.

THE GAG-RULE.—Hopes are entertained that this stain upon the nation, and the century, may yet be wiped off. Our Washington friend writes encouragingly. The vote which we have analyzed under the proper head, is peculiar and unprecedented. *Thirty* is the greatest number of Northern democratic votes ever before given against the gag. It is now *forty-five*. We rejoice at this, and see in it an augury of speedy triumph. The democrats of Maine, Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey, have done well; but as for those of Pennsylvania, they have followed the knavish lead of James Buchanan, than whom a more corrupt intriguant never lived in this country. We have been compelled to defer the reply in relation to Mr. McKeon, from not having been able to refer to the Congressional journals.

Extract of a letter from Washington, dated

DECEMBER 9th, 1843.

"There is a great change in the tone of the democrats, as well as of the southern men generally. There is less superciliousness, less ostentation, and more courtesy exhibited by them, than I have ever seen before. The day of boisterous menace, and bowie-knives, has gone by, I think forever. I am in hopes that the question of annexation will be discussed, but I fear that its advocates will be too timid to try it. Two of the Alabama members took occasion to express their hopes and expectations, in relation to this subject, when the question of printing the message, was before the house; but they are young members, and speak their feelings somewhat as *Upshur* did, when he recommended an increase of the navy to support slavery. The new members are generally modest and respectful in their remarks upon the question of abolition, and appear willing to obtain more information upon the subject.

The gag rule will again come up for discussion I think. We have not adopted the rules of the last Congress, and they are still open to amendment. I think a motion to amend by striking out the "XXIst," will come from the democratic side.

WM. C. NELL.—In the advertising column, will be seen a notice by this worthy friend and coadjutor.—He has been an agent in the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Office, 25 Cornhill, Boston, for several years, and has conducted with approved industry, capacity, and integrity. During the same time, he has attended many important anti-slavery meetings, and aided the cause by his pen, and by oral addresses of no ordinary merit. We think that Mr. Nell would be found a valuable man as a general agent, or in aparticular department of a publishing or commercial establishment. We recommend his application to the attention of those who are willing to encourage merit, irrespective of color.

☞ We are compelled both to delay our paper one day, and defer much matter prepared for the present number, on account of the great length and late receipt of the official proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society at its Decennial meeting.

The Washington correspondent of the New-York Sun, states that anti-slavery and anti-Texas petitions, are pouring in. We have not seen in the journals of Congress any mention of a presentation.

Anti-Slavery Items.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE.—The *Albany Evening-Journal* concludes an account of a constitutional reform meeting at Albany, as follows:

We regretted that the important question of the $250 suffrage provision, so odious, partial and anti-democratic, in its character, was passed over in entire silence. Perhaps the admiral was momentarily forgetful. Surely such an important provision, and one so glaringly defective, could not have entirely escaped the scrutiny of his reforming gaze. The omission must have been unintentional!

The personal allusion is to *Admiral Hoffman*, of Herkimer, who made the great speech of the occasion. We know not whether this is a real or a nickname. We infer from the account of the proceedings that he and the meeting were democratic. It is proper to say, that the whigs have not, *as a party*, taken up this matter, of the iniquitous and contemptible distinction between voters in the State of New-York, on account of complexion. We hope the Albany Journal will perform the residue of its duty by calling upon those with whom it has more influence, *not* to go and do likewise.

The New Orleans papers state that the negress Celeste, arrested for cruelty to a slave, in reducing her by slow starvation, has been remanded to the proper court for trial. The facts brought out in the examination of the inhuman torture inflicted upon the poor slave are too sickening for publication. During the examination a person went to see the unfortunate sufferer, and found her stone dead on the floor.

Congress.

SENATE, Dec. 4.

Thirty senators appeared and took their seats; eighteen old, and twelve new members, viz: Fairfield, Me.; Atherton, N. H.; Upham, Vt.; Wright, N. Y.; Hayward, N. C.; Colquitt, Ga.; Foster and Jaraegon, Tenn.; Allen, O.; Hanegan, Ia.; Semple and Breese, Ill. Mr. Mangum, of N. C. took the chair as President *pro. tem.*

Dec. 5. Mr. Merrick, of Md. gave notice of reviving his Post-office bill; and Mr. Woodbury, of N. H. presented resolutions of the legislature of that State, in favor of refunding Gen. Jackson's fine. The President's message was received and read.

Dec. 6. Gales and Seaton were elected printers to the senate by a vote of 23 to 17.

Dec. 7. Mr. Bates gave notice of a bill for paying the claim of Massachusetts for expenses during the late war. Adjourned to Monday 11th.

Dec. 11. The standing committees were announced. We shall give the list next week. We observe that the post-office committee has four slave members, and only one from the free States! Stephen Tustan was chosen chaplain; Asbury Dickens, secretary; Edward Dyer, sergeant at arms; and Robert Beale, assistant, do.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The house was called to order by the clerk, who read the roll. On reaching the names of the New Hampshire members, Mr. Campbell, of South Carolina, inquired whether they had been duly elected? Loud cries of "Go on, go on," were uttered. When the clerk had finished, 189 members having answered, Mr. *Barnard*, of New York, asked to read a paper. Mr. J. R. Ingersoll moved that he have leave. After much discussion, this was refused—*yeas* 59, *nays* 124.

The house proceeded to elect a speaker:

For John W. Jones,	128
" John White,	59
" William Wilkins,	1

[It appears that Mr. Jones was nominated in a caucus held on Saturday evening previous. The votes in that meeting were, Jones of Va. (*Van Buren*) 77; Wilkins, Pa. (*Buchanan*) 16; Lewis, Ala. (*Calhoun*) 9; and 11 scattering. Mr. Calhoun's friends seem to consider him as virtually withdrawn from the course.]

Mr. Adams moved to rescind the XXIst rule. The question was taken without debate, and resulted as follows:

YEAS.

Maine—Herrick, Dunlap, Hamlin.
New Hampshire—Hale.
Vermont—Callamer, Foot, Marsh, Dillingham.
Massachusetts—Adams, Grinnell, Hudson, King, Parmenter, Williams, Winthrop.
Rhode Island—Cranston, Potter.
Connecticut—Catlin, Seymour, Simons, Stewart.
New-York—Phoenix Maclay, Leonard, Fish, Anderson, R. D. Davis, Clinton, D. L. Seymour, Barnard, Rogers, Stetson, Ellis, Benton, Hungerford, Beardsley, J. E. Cary, Robinson, Wheaton, Rathbun, Patterson, Carroll, Hubbell, Tyler, Moseley, A. Smith, Hunt, Dana
New Jersey—Elmer, Kirkpatrick, Sykes, W. Wright.
Pennsylvania—E. J. Morris, J. R. Ingersoll, J. T. Smith, Jenks, McIlvaine, J. Brown, Frick, Ramsay, Irvin, Dickney, C. M. Reed, Buffington.
Ohio—Schenk, Vance, E. D. Potter, McDowell, Vanmeter, Florence, Vinton, P. B. Johnson, Harper, J. Morris, Dean, Tilden Giddings.
Indiana—Owen, Henley, T. Smith, W. J. Brown, J. A. Wright, Pettit, Sample, Kennedy.
Illinois—Harden.
Michigan—McClelland, J. B. Hunt.
Delaware—Rodney.
North Carolina—Clingman.
Kentucky—White.—91

NAYS.

New Hampshire—Burke, Morris, Reding.
New-York—Strong, Murphy, Russell, Pratt, P. King.
New Jersey—Farlee.
Pennsylvania—C. J. Ingersoll, Yost, Ritter, Broadhead, Bidlack, J. Black, Wilkins, Hays.
Ohio—Weller, Moore, J. Brinkerhoff, M'Causler.
Indiana—J. W. Davis.
Illinois—R. Smith, M'Clernand, Ficklin, Wentworth, Douglas, Hoge.—29.

Southerners without distinction of party—66.

RECAPITULATION.

Yeas—Northern whigs—44; Northern democrats, 44; Southern whigs, 3. Total—91.

Nays—Northern democrats, 29; Northern whigs, 0; Southerners without distinction of party, 66. Total—95.

Dec. 5. On the reading of the journal, it appeared that it contained no mention of the motion that Mr. Barnard's paper, (a protest against admitting the members from New Hampshire, Missouri, Mississippi, and Georgia, to seats in the house,) should be read. Mr. Barnard offered a resolution to amend the journal, by inserting the motion and protest.

A debate ensued. One member, (Kennedy, of Ia.) declared that he regarded the law requiring the district system, with *contempt*. Mr. *Rayner*, of North Carolina, said the proceedings of the House, in admitting those persons not elected according to law, was *nullification* in its worst form.

The protest was signed by 49 whig members.

Dec. 6. This morning Mr. Barnard's resolution to amend the journal by inserting the protest, together with the *protest* itself, appeared on the journal of yesterday, and a motion was made by Drumgoole, of Virginia, to expunge it! An excited debate ensued, and the subject was postponed until to-morrow.

Caleb J. McNulty, of Ohio, (*Van Buren*) was chosen clerk, over Mr. *Clarke*, late clerk, 124 to 66.

C. J. Ingersoll, of Pa. introduced a bill for refunding General Jackson's fine.

Dec. 7. Mr. Adams presented the petition of *J. M. Botts*, contesting Mr. *Jones'* (speaker's) seat. Mr. Newton presented the petition of Mr. *Goggin*, contesting that of *T. W. Gilmer*. The house, after some debate on the separation of the government patronage from the press, proceeded to the choice of printer. Blair & Rives had 134, Gales & Seaton 62. The prices are to be 15 per cent. off of the old rates. Some debate took place as to the mode of appointing the *committee on elections*, the speaker having declined to appoint it; but no decision was had.

Adjourned to Monday.

The committee on elections was announced as follows: Messrs. Payne, of Alabama; Ellis, New-York; Chapman, Virginia; Douglas, Illinois; Newton, Virginia; Davis, Kentucky; Hamlin, Maine; Schench, Ohio; Elmer, New-Jersey.

Newton, Davis, and Schenck, are whigs; the remaining six, democrats.

The debate on the question of inserting *the protest* on the journal, recurred. Mr. *Hamlin*, of Maine, moved to instruct the clerk not to insert the protest in the present day's proceedings. Mr. Winthrop replied that the clerk was sworn to support the constitution, and could not *falsify* the journal, even if instructed so to do. He called this an attempt to *expunge* by anticipation. It was finally determined that the protest should go upon the record of the first day's proceedings. Thus Mr. Barnard's motion was carried.

Married,

On the 23d of 11th mo. at Fall Creek meeting of Friends, WOOLSTON SWAIN, formerly of Bucks county, Pa. to MARY ANN THOMAS, of Madison county, Indiana.

Died.

In Buckingham, on the 12th ultimo, at the residence of his son-in-law, Thomas Paxson, SAMUEL JOHNSON, in the 81st year of his age.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

ENGLAND.

The queen has been pleased to appoint Richard Packenham, esq. now her majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Mexican Republic, to be her majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

IRELAND.

The affairs of O'Connell and his fellow defendants seem to make little progress, and that not propitious to the government. The 15th of November was the last day allowed for pleading to the indictment; and on that day Mr. O'Connell appeared in the Court of the Queen's Bench; but instead of saying not guilty, he gave the Crown lawyers a taste of his quality as a special pleader, by a plea in abatement—not to the substance of the indictment, but to a matter of form.

The foundation of this, was the manner of swearing the witnesses who appeared before the grand jury. They were sworn, it appears, in the jury-room; whereas it appears, by an act of parliament, George Third, they should have been sworn in open court, before going to the jury-room.

The Crown lawyers met this technical movement by a counter technicality—the objection that it was too late for the reception of anything but a plea in bar. This was argued at length, but the court decided in favor of the defendants. The Crown lawyers then demurred to the plea in abatement, and insisted on proceeding at once to the discussion. But the defendants claimed due notice of the argument, and the court granted them four days.

The immediate legal effect of Mr. O'Connell's movement, if successful, would be, we presume, a quashing of the indictment, and all the proceedings subsequent to the arrest; leaving the government at liberty to go before another grand jury, on the same information, and without a new arrest. But the moral effect would doubtless be a great advantage to Mr. O'Connell, and a placing of the government in a very awkward predicament. The defeat being only on a matter of form, the government would feel unwilling to abandon the prosecution; because, by so doing, it would seem to admit great doubt of its own proceedings, and tacitly acknowledge Mr. O'Connell's superior knowledge of the law; while on the other hand, there would be obvious discredit and disadvantage in proceeding after a defeat, which, though only technical, would be regarded by thousands as substantial, and would thus give Mr. O'Connell the *prestige* of a triumph.

It was rumored that government was meditating a suppression of the Repeal Association meetings, as it had done the great Clontarf meeting; but no such design has been carried into effect. At the weekly meetings on the 7th of November, a resolution was adopted to make a greater and more general effort than ever, for the collection of the annual O'Connell "rent," or compensation-fund. This is the donation made every year to Mr. O'Connell, by the people of Ireland, as compensation for the devotion of his whole time to their service. In some years, it has amounted to as much as £15,000.

It was likewise agreed at this meeting to promulgate an address to the queen, to receive signatures in every parish in Ireland. Its tenor is mainly a protest against the suppression of the Clontarf meeting, and generally against the military preparations of the government.

Mr. O'Connell entered this meeting late. He moved that the words of Edmund Burke, which the banner of Ulster selected for its motto, be adopted by the association—namely, "Religion is the basis of civil society, and the source of all good and comfort." Mr. Daniel O'Connell, Jun. read the draught of an address to the queen, to be presented by each parish in Ireland; it protested against the military array by which the Clontarf proclamation was supported to insure the obedience; inferred that the disposition of the Irish people had been misrepresented to the queen: pointed to the peaceable conduct of large meetings; affected to abstain from complaining that the right to meet had been violated, but remarked that troops had been prepared to attack persons congregated "in utter ignorance of the almost nocturnal proclamation;" adding, "yet such was the respect for the law, that very many thousands of people dispersed on the mere rumor that the meeting had been made illegal by an act of almost midnight legislation!"

At the meeting at Conciliation Hall, November 13th, Mr. O'Connell said there was one point to which he wished particularly to call the attention of the country; and that was the fact that they had always looked for relief by *peaceable* means; and that the principle of his public life had been that the greatest political ameliorations could only be obtained by peaceable means. He was the apostle of that new sect of politicians who condemned all changes effected by force, which, although they might destroy one grievance, were sure to create many.

There was scarcely on record an instance of success by such means, that did not terminate eventually in despotism and anarchy. This he had announced five thousand times; he had practically acted on it when carrying Catholic emancipation, and up to the present period, in struggling for repeal. Mr. O'Connell then referred to a paragraph in Saturday's Times, which he said was most insulting to the people of Ireland.

He would not sully his lips by reading it, but it had convinced him that the persons who patronized that paper were exceedingly anxious for some tumult and disorder in Ireland. Since he had entered the hall, he heard that a man, who had been in America, was last night preaching sedition in the streets, and that a policeman in colored clothes, who first encouraged him, took him into custody. He was obliged to that policeman, and he sincerely hoped the prisoner would be punished for the crime laid to his charge.

Sedition or violence of any kind was injurious to every person at present included in the government prosecutions, for nothing would tend more to prejudice the minds of the jury who would try them. He rose for the purpose of moving the adoption of an address to the people of Ireland, and to assure them that he was the greatest enemy to his country, who was guilty of the slightest approach to violence. It was manifest that the troops at present in Ireland, did not intend to attack the people, and that they merely placed themselves upon their defense. No man, therefore, could have the slighest excuse on that head for committing a breach of the peace.

His (Mr. O'Connell's) experiment was to procure useful changes by peaceable means. What signified the result of the present prosecutions? It might be personally inconvenient to some of them, but it could not affect the spirit of the entire nation, or their determination to persevere in looking for repeal. That perseverance would be the more certain to be successful by being perfectly peaceable, and it should go hard with him if he did not find means to communicate his sentiments to the people through the medium of the press.

ABOLITIONISTS, PAY YOUR DEBTS!

The Executive Committee of the American Society have adopted the ONE DOLLAR PLAN, for the special purpose of paying the debt, for which partial provision only was made at the late annual meeting.

The question is now to be answered—*Does the American Anti-Slavery Society number twenty-five hundred members, who are able to pay One Dollar each, for the payment of its debt?* If so, we shall soon be an honest society. If not, we shall soon cease to be a society at all. Our operations cannot be continued, if we cannot go upon the cash system.

Friends of the Society are requested to act as agents in their respective localities, and to collect without delay, as much as they can, and remit to the Treasurer.

PAYMENT RECEIVED.

Amount previously acknowledged,		$353
354	Benjamin Bowne, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1
355	Sarah Bown, " "	1
356	Angelina Sarah Bown " "	1
357	John B. Swanton, Windsor, Conn.	1
358	Edward Thurber, Providence, R. I.	1
359	John Mirick, Princeton, Mass.	1
360	Joseph Merriam, " "	1

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the two weeks ending 12th mo. (Dec.) 9th, 1843.

Received for the Standard—The following persons have each paid $2: Henry Howland, West Walworth, N. Y.; Benjamin Bowne, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Catharine Robinson, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; John B. Swanton, South Windsor, Conn.; John B. Swanton, jr. Bath, Me.; Cyrus Thompson, Leroy, N. Y.; J. C. Wingate, Newburyport, Mass.; J. L. Sanford, Newark, N. J.; Anna Bailey, New Bedford, Mass.; Rufus Reynolds, Purchase, N. Y.; Ashbel Schofield, Darien, Conn.; James R. Hague, Mt. Pleasant. Ohio; Sarah Cook, Weymouth, Mass.; John Mirick, Princeton, Mass.; Joseph Merriam, do.—Total $30

Sarah D. Hall, Fall River, Mass. $3; Abraham Van Vleck, Coxsackie, N. Y. $2 50; J. A. Potter, Trumansburgh, N. Y. $1; James Hodson, Mineral Point, Wisconsin, $1 50; John Shoecraft, Webster, Monroe co. N. Y. $3; George Brown, Palmyra, N. Y. $1; M. Daggett, and others, North Attleborough, Mass. $10; William Irwin, and D. Ferguson, Port William, Ohio, $1 each; A. B. Wheeler, Boston, $1.—Total $24

Donations.—A friend, $2

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treasurer.*

NOTICES.

JUNIOR A. S. SOCIETY PHILADELPHIA.

Said society will hold a meeting at the Wilbur Fisk Institute, to-morrow evening, (Friday,) the 15th inst. at 7 o'clock. The public are invited to attend.

EDWIN SALTER, Secretary.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF RHODE ISLAND

Beloved Friends:—Let there be no delay in making a vigorous and united effort to pour in a flood of petitions, or *one mass* petition, to the legislature at the January session. This labor is yours to perform. May no unfaithfulness on your part, defeat its success. Petitions will be found at the anti-slavery office in Providence. In the name of the slave and the injured colored man, I entreat you, one and all, be up and doing this great effort.

C. M. BURLEIGH, *Agt. Rhode Island Anti-Slaver Society.*

PHILADELPHIA FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

The members of this society are requested to call at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, and obtain memorials to Congress and to the State Legislature for circulation. Let the work of soliciting subscribers be promptly commenced.

IMPORTANT MEETING.

The annual meeting of the (Central) New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Utica, on the 19th and 20th of December. Friends from Massachusetts and other places are expected to be present, and an earnest invitation has been extended to those able advocates of our cause, the Hutchinsons. Questions of the utmost importance, and courses of action of the deepest moment, now present themselves for discussion and for choice.

☞ Let all friends of the cause and the American Society make exertions to attend.

For Executive Committee:

S. LIGHTBODY, *Chairman.*
WM. C. ROGERS, *Sec'y.*

CENTRAL NEW-YORK ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

It is with the most joyful expectancy that the committee of women of the Central New-York Anti-Slavery Society, in conformity to the resolution adopted last spring, issue the call for the Fair to be held during Christmas and New-Year's season.

The success of our Syracuse Fair, through which we have been enabled to throw into the hands of our executive committee the means for sustaining an able advocate of the rights of humanity, in his arduous labors, encourages us to renewed efforts, that we may, if possible, instead of sustaining one, raise the means of sustaining four or five efficient agents, who, in conjunction with others, shall go forward with the deep plough of reform, and the seed wheat of humanity, and in a short space shall make this slavery-cursed desert of America bloom and blossom like the rose, with the flowers of mercy, truth, and justice. What heart shall be found in Central New-York, that will beat no warm response to the call for help! Will not every town, yes, every neighborhood, form its sewing circle, and send or bring up their contributions at the time appointed? Will not the free farmers bring from their stores, which God's bounty has so lavishly bestowed upon them? Will there be found an artisan who can withhold his or her gift from the slave's store, on Christmas week? We confidently expect great help. Persons wishing to contribute by sending unmade articles, bits of silk, muslin, calico, or gingham, will confer a favor by sending them soon, addressed to one of the Utica committee—place of deposit, No. 49 Fayette street.

The proceeds of this Fair will be appropriated

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

A SONG FOR THE HUTCHINSONS'.

The fields of the South teem with fragrance and bloom,
The breeze that sweeps o'er them is rife with perfume,
The valleys and hill-sides are spangled with flowers,
And brilliant festoons twine the shadowy bowers;
The oriole flutters his bright yellow coat,
The jay his blue plumes, as in freedom they float;
The bee and the humming-bird visit each grove,
The wren makes each garden an empire of love.

The sheep browse at leisure o'er valley or hill,
The cattle graze idly by streamlet, or rill,
And when the warm sun gains his zenith on high,
Beneath a broad tree they can peacefully lie;
And here, too, is proffered the cup of good cheer—
But hearken! a sound strikes the list'ning ear!
The clanking of chains, and the ring of the lash.
Stop, Freedom! that cup from thy lips thou must dash!

Bright flowers may twine it with beauty and bloom,
And birds mingle melody with its perfume;
Dumb nature around thee speak freedom, and joy;
But touch not the cup—it is mixed with alloy.
The drops sparkling there are the tears of the slave;
The toil that hath filled it bears him to the grave;
The flowers that twine it are steeped in his sweat;
The soil that hath borne them, with blood hath been wet.

At noontime, the weary, dumb cattle may hie
To some shady spot, and in peacefulness lie;
But morn, noon, nor even, the slave cannot be
His own for one instant—He never is free!
Then Liberty hie thee away to the North,
Back, back, to the mountains, from whence thou came forth!
Cast off the stained mantle that round thee is thrown,
And drink from the chalice of Freemen alone!

EMMELINE.

From the Lady's Book.

NOT ON THE BATTLE FIELD.

BY JOHN PIERPONT.

"To fall on the battle-field, fighting for my dear country—that would not be hard."—*MS. in Miss Bremer's "Neighbors."*

O, no, no,—let *me* lie
Not on a field of battle, when I die!
Let not the iron tread
Of the mad war-horse crush my helmed head;
Nor let the reeking knife,
That I have drawn against a brother's life,
Be in my hand, when death
Thunders along, and tramples me beneath
His heavy squadron's heels,
Or gory felloes of his cannon's wheels.

From such a dying bed,
Though o'er it float the stripes of white and red,
And the bald Eagle brings
The clustered stars upon his wide-spread wings,
To sparkle in my sight,
O, never let my spirit take her flight.

I know that beauty's eye
Is all the brighter where gay pennants fly,
And brazen helmets dance,
And sunshine flashes on the lifted lance:—
I know that bards have sung,
And people shouted, till the welkin rung,
In honor of the brave,
Who on the battle-field have found a grave;—
I know that, o'er their bones,
Have grateful hands piled monumental stones.

Some of these piles I've seen:—
The one at Lexington, upon the green,
Where the first blood was shed,
That to my country's independence led;
And others, on our shore,
"The battle monument," at Baltimore,
And that on Bunker's Hill,
Aye, and abroad, a few more famous still:—

Thy "Tomb," Themistocles,
That looks out yet upon the Grecian seas,
And which the waters kiss,
That issue from the gulf of Salamis:—
And thine, too, have I seen,
Thy mound of earth, Patroclus, robed in green,
That, like a natural knoll,
Sheep climb and nibble over, as they stroll,
Watched by some turban'd boy,
Upon the margin of the plain of Troy.

Such honors grace the bed,
I know, whereon the warrior lays his head,
And hears, as life ebbs out,
The conquered flying, and the conqueror's shout.
But, as his eyes grow dim,
What is a column, or a mound, to him?
What, to the parting soul,
The mellow notes of bugles? What the roll
Of drums? No—let me die
Where the blue heaven bends o'er me lovingly,
And the soft summer air,
As it goes by me, stirs my thin, white hair,
And, from my forehead, dries
The death-damp, as it gathers, and the skies
Seem waiting to receive
My soul to their clear depths! Or, let me leave
The world, when, round my bed,
Wife, children, weeping friends are gathered,
And the calm voice of prayer
And holy hymning shall my soul prepare
To go and be at rest,
With kindred spirits—spirits who have blessed
The human brotherhood
By labors, cares, and counsels for their good.

And in my dying hour,
When riches, fame, and honor, have no power
To bear the spirit up,
Or from my lips to turn aside the cup,
That all must drink, at last,
O, let me draw refreshment from the past!
Then, let my soul run back,
With peace and joy, along my earthly track,
And see that all the seeds,
That I have scattered there, in virtuous deeds,
Have sprung up, and have given,
Already, fruits of which to taste is heaven!

And, though no grassy mound
Or granite pile, say 'tis heroic ground,
Where my remains repose,
Still will I hope—vain hope, perhaps!—that those,
Whom I have striven to bless,—
The wanderer reclaimed, the fatherless,—
May stand around my grave,
With the poor prisoner, and the poorer slave,—
And breathe an humble prayer,
That they may die like him, whose bones are mouldering there.

SIMPLE AFFINITY.

Some water and oil
One day had a broil,
As down in a glass they were dropping,
And would not unite,
But continued to fight,
Without any prospect of stopping.

Some Pearlash o'erheard,
And as quick as a word,
He jumped in the midst of the clashing,
When all three agreed,
And united with speed,
And Soap was created for washing.

Miscellany.

A FOOL OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE GERMAN OF ZSCHOKKE.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

On my last journey through the north of Germany, I did not regret going a little out of the way, to see once more one who had been a favorite in the golden time of my life. It must be understood, however, that in the following story, the names of countries, places, and persons, are concealed or disguised. Yet the history, as improbable as it may appear to some, is none the less true on that account.

This favorite was the Baron Olivier, of Flyeln, with whom I had pursued the sciences of the high-school of Gottingen. He was then an excellent youth, and at the same time, one of the most intellectual. A love of Greek and Roman literature had brought and bound us together. I called him my Achilles, and he called me his Patroclus. In fact, he was a model that might have served any artist for an Achilles. In form and bearing like a young demigod, pride and goodness alike shone in the dark fire of his glance; supple and active as any one; the boldest swimmer, the swiftest-footed runner, the wildest rider, the most graceful dancer; he had withal, the most generous and fearless heart. His very nobleness involved him in many an unpleasant affair, as he always took the part of the oppressed. He had, therefore, many occasions to fight with others; did not avoid even the best swordsman; went into the contest as to a pastime; was never himself wounded, as if he bore a charmed life, yet never suffered any one to escape him unmarked.

Since our separation, we had several times written to each other, but as it happens, when one begins to be tossed by the waves of life, though we did not wholly forget one another, we at last dropped the correspondence. I knew nothing of him, finally, except that he had become captain in a regiment of infantry. He must have been already about five-and thirty years old, and in the first rank. In the course of my journey, I had learned, quite accidentally, the station of his regiment, and this reconciled me to the roundabout way.

The postboy drove me into the streets of an old, straggling, rich commercial city, and stopped before one of the most respectable hotels. As soon as I had learned which was my chamber, from the waiter, I asked him, whether the Baron of Flyeln was with the regiment now in possession of the place?

"Do you mean the major?" asked the waiter.

"Major he may well be! Is his dwelling far from this? Can he be spoken with at this time? It is late, I know—but I wish some one to conduct me to him."

"Pardon me, but the baron is not with his regiment—he has not been for a long time. He took leave, or he would have been obliged to take it."

"Obliged? Wherefore?"

"He has played all sorts of pranks and wonderful capers—I know not what! He is, at least, no right in the head: he is cracked—crazed. They say, he has studied himself out of his wits."

The news frightened me so at first, that I completely lost possession of myself.

"And what, then?" stammered I at last, in order to learn something of him more accurately.

"Pardon me," said the obsequious waiter, "but what I say, is only from hearsay, for he was sent away before I came to this house: still they tell many things about him. For instance, he had many affairs with the officers, and called each one *thou* even the general—each one, let him be who he might. When he came into possession of a rich inheritance from his uncle, he imagined himself as poor as a beggar, could not pay his debts, and sold what he had on and about him. He even ventured blasphemous speeches in his phrensy. But the funniest part is, that he married himself to an ordinary woman, a Gipsey, in spite of his family. His very dress became that of a madman, so that the boys in the street ran after him. They grieved very much in the city; for he was generally liked before that, and must have been, while he had his right mind, an excellent man."

"And where is he now?"

"I cannot say. He has quitted the town—we hear and see nothing of him. His family have probably got him a place somewhere where he may be healed.

The waiter could give no further information. I had already heard too much. I threw myself shuddering into a seat. I thought to myself of the heroic form of the intellectual youth, of whose future I had indulged such fond anticipations; he who, by his standing, as well as through his large family connexions, might have so easily claimed the first place in the army, or the State; he who, by his knowledge and rare endowments, seemed to have been called to all that is great—and who was now one of the unfortunate, before whom men shrunk back in dread! Oh, that the angel of Life had rather withdrawn him from the world, than left him a miserable and mournful spectacle to his friends.

As willingly as I would have seen the good Olivier, it was no longer pleasant for me to inquire for him in the city. Alas! he was no more Olivier—no more the manly Achilles, but a pitiable, unknown Torso. I would not have wished to see him, even if it had been easy for me to find him. I must then have changed the memory of my Gottingen Achilles to the image of a madman, which would have robbed me of one of my loveliest and most pleasing recollections. I did not wish to see him, for the same reason that I avoid looking at a friend in his coffin, that I may retain in my thoughts the image of the living only; or, as I forbear to enter again into rooms which I formerly occupied, but are now in possession of another, and which are arranged in quite another manner. The Past and the Present became confused in my imagination in an intolerably painful degree.

I was yet lost in speculations on the nature of human existence,—how the same spirit which spans the space of the universe, and aspires to the highest becomes, through the depression and injury of the nervous system, like a jarring and discordant instrument to itself—and to the rest of the world, and unintelligible enigma—when the waiter entered and called me to supper.

The table of the brilliant dining-room was crowded with guests. It happened that a place was assigned me in the neighborhood of some officers of the occupying army. I naturally, as soon as the ice was broken between us, turned the conversation to my friend, Olivier. I gave the minutest description of him, that there might be no mistake as to his person; for it was probable, as I believed then, that the mad Baron of Flyeln might be some other than my Achilles of Gottingen. But all that I said, and all that I heard, convinced me too surely that there was no room for mistake.

"It is indeed a sad affair, that of the baron," sighed one of the officers. "Everybody liked him. He was one of the bravest of the regiment—in fact, a dare-devil. We saw that, during the last campaign in France. What none of us dared to do, he did as if in sport. He triumphed in everything. Just think of the affair at the battery of Belle-Alliance! We had lost;—the general tore the very hair from his head. Flyeln cried out, "We must try again, or all is gone!" We had then made three assaults in vain. Flyeln went out with his company once more, took with him a whole battalion of guards, and, by God, pressing on with the most horrible butchery, stormed the battery."

"But it cost half of the company," interrupted an old captain near me; "I was an eye-witness. He came out, however, as usual, without a scratch. The most monstrous luck always attended the man. The common soldiers even are indebted to him for instruction in that which pertains strictly to their own duties."

I had heard with real transport the eulogies passed upon the good Olivier. I knew him again with all his virtues. They particularly praised his beneficence. He was the founder and improver of a school for soldier's children, and had gone to great expense on account of it. He had done much good in secret; always led a simple and retired life; never gave way to the extravagance or dissoluteness to which youth, beauty, vigor, and health invited him. Yes, the officers assured me, he had had a signal influence in ennobling the tone of the corps—in improving their manners as well as in enlarging their knowledge. He himself had read lectures upon various subjects, useful to the warriors, until he was silenced."

"And why silenced?" asked I, with some astonishment.

"Why, even in these lectures," answered one of my neighbors, "he discovered some symptoms of his mental disorder. No Jacobin, in the French national convention, ever raged so vehemently against our monarchical arrangements, and against the various European courts, and their politics, as he did at times. He said, right out, that the people would, sooner or later, help themselves—themselves and the king—against ministerial domination, priestcraft, and pecuniary exactions. He thought that the revolution would spread inevitably from nation to nation, and that, in less than half a century, the whole political aspect of Europe would be changed. But enough; the lectures were forbidden, and very properly and justly. Even so madly did he declaim at times, that he assailed the nobility and their prerogatives. If any one reminded him, that he himself was a baron, he would answer, 'You are silly to say so; I am a plain man of sense, and have been from the cradle no better than our sutler there!'"

"But that was only a preliminary symptom of his derangement," interposed a young lieutenant. "The most decided act of craziness was, when falling in with Lieutenant-Colonel Baron Von Berkin, he saluted him with a box on the ears, and then threw him down stairs; afterwards, however, he did not dare to fight him, according to challenge, by which means he offended the whole officer-corps."

"Yet he was always a good fighter; one who cared little for the naked sword," said I.

"Until then we knew him for such; but, as was said, his whole nature changed. When he went out to the place where they were about to engage, he appeared without a sword, and with only a whip in his hand, and, said to the lieutenant-colonel, in the presence of us all, 'You silly fool, you, if I should really tear you open with my sword, what good would it do you?' And as the colonel, no longer able to contain his wrath, drew his sword, the major calmly bared his breast, held it up to him, and said, 'Are you anxious to become an assassin?—strike then!'" We here joined in the conversation, and wished him to fight with the lieutenant-colonel as duty and honor commanded. Then he called us all fools together, whose maxims of honor, he said, belonged rather to the mad-house, or to the house of correction. We soon perceived that he was not altogether right in the upper story. One of us insulted him, but he took no notice of it, and only laughed. We repaired to the general, and frankly related to him our whole case. The general was grieved, and the more so, because that very day he had received an Order for the major from the court. He enjoined us to say nothing—he would settle all—the major must give satisfaction. The next morning, at parade, the general, according to command, handed over the Order, with a suitable speech to the major. He did not take it, but answered in respectful words, that he had fought against Napoleon for the sake of his country, and not for a little bit of ribbon. If he deserved any praise, he did not wish to wear it on his breast, as a show to everybody.' The general was almost frightened out of his senses. But no prayers nor menaces could move the major to take the royal distinction. Next, the officers stepped forth, and declared that they could no longer serve with the major, unless he rendered some satisfaction. The affair came to trial; the major was imprisoned; and was only released by the court. Then his malady broke out in its fullness. He suffered his beard to grow like a Jew's—wore ludicrous dresses—married, to spite his relations, quite an ordinary, yet pretty girl—a foundling, for whom he had already had the affair with the lieutenant-colonel—thought himself, for a long while, miserably poor—and finally did so many foolish things, that he was sent by royal command, under strict guardianship, to his own estate."

"Where is he now?" I asked.

"Still at his own estate, in Flyeln, in the castle of his deceased uncle—distant, it may be, ten hours from this. For a long year no one went to him without permission—even the management of his business was taken away from him. It is now restored to him, though he must still render a yearly account. He does not venture to stir a step beyond his domain. He has solemnly excommunicated the whole world, and does not permit relatives, acquaintances, or friends, to come to him. They have now, for a year or more, heard nothing of him."

THE VISIT.

From all the tales of the officers, it was clear, that unfortunate Olivier, after the loss of his understanding, would always remain a good-natured fool; and that probably the wild spirit of freedom, which for some years had been the fashion in Germany, had seized him more vehemently than it ought, or had at least given a color to his phantasies.

All this caused me great apprehension; I could not get to sleep for a long while in the night. When I awoke in the morning, it was already late; but I felt myself more active and vigorous. The world appeared to me in a clearer light than on the previous evening, and I resolved to seek my much-to-be-pitied friend in his place of exile.

After I had casually surveyed the lions of the place, I flung myself into a wagon, and drove all night and the following day, towards Flyeln, to the neighborhood of a seaport. The village of Flyeln lay yet two miles distant from this town. The postmaster, when he heard where I wanted to go, laughed, and reminded me that I was going on a useless journey. The baron did not permit himself to be seen by strangers. I also learned that he had not improved in the condition of his mind, but that the good man had become firmly persuaded, that the whole world, during the last century, had turned crazy, and that the remedy was to go forth from Flyeln. In this belief—all the world holding him, and he holding all the world, to be senseless—he separated himself altogether from other men. His peasants find themselves none the less well off on account of it, for he did much for them. But in return, they must obey his whims, in the smallest matters; wear trousers, with long jackets, and round hats, suffer their beards to grow long, and *thou* all people, especially upon the grounds of Flyeln—even the most important personages. Aside from these crack-brained notions, he was one of the most sensible men in the world.

Notwithstanding the warning of the postmaster, I continued the attempt, and went forth towards Flyeln. Why should it trouble me, to go two miles for nothing, when, for the sake of Olivier, I had already ventured so far out of my way? Nor found I reason to fear that I should be driven away, since he had not suffered in his memory. It was, in truth, a miserable, untraveled route, sometimes deep sand, sometimes through newly-dug brooks and miry ground, sometimes through rough defiles; several times my wagon was like to upset. But, about one hour's ride from Flyeln, the land began to rise. The fields stood in excellent order upon a wide plain; on the right, an oak forest stretched in the distance, with its dark green leaves, like an immense bower; on the left, the endless sea, a broad heaving mirror, with its shining clouds, completed the panorama. The village of Flyeln, peered out of the fruit-trees, willows, and poplars, before me; on one side, rose a large, old structure, the castle, encompassed by a wood of chestnuts; behind, nearer the water, lay the village of Lower Flyeln, also attached to the domain of Olivier, picturesquely relieved by rugged ranges of rocks, which, in woody cliffs, projected like little peninsulas, far into the sea. Fishermen's boats, with sails swarmed upon the shores, and a ship was sailing upon the ridge of the sea, with its white sails flickering in the air.

The nearer I came to the village and castle, the more picturesque and cheerful grew the scenery. It possessed the peculiar charms of a country bordering the sea—those which spring from the mingling of the beauties of landscape with the majesty of the ocean, retired and peaceful cottages contrasting with the stormy life of the elements. At any rate, the place of exile selected by my friend had attractions enough to induce any one to prefer it to the privileges of living in bustling cities.

In the fields, as well as in the gardens, I soon discovered the famous Flyeln beards. Even the hotel-keeper, before whose inn I reined up and alighted, was profusely covered with hair about his chin and mouth. He returned my greeting in a friendly manner, and seemed to be rather astonished at my arrival. "Dost thou seek the proprietor?" he asked me, courteously. I permitted the somewhat unusual *thou* to pass with a smile, answering simply, yes. "Then, I must inquire concerning thy name, rank, and dwelling-place. These must be announced to Mr. Olivier. He does not willingly receive travelers."

"But me he will certainly receive. Let him be told that one of his oldest and best friends, in passing by, wishes to speak with him for a little while. Let nothing further be said to him."

"As thou will'st," replied the host, "but I can anticipate the answer."

While the hotel-keeper was looking for a messenger, I went slowly through the village, direct towards the castle, to which a foot-path that ran between the houses and a fruit-garden, seemed to invite me. But it led me astray, to a building which I took for a wash-house. Sidewise, beyond a meadow, flowed a pretty broad brook, over which the high and dark wild chestnuts of the ancient homestead of the baron flung their shadows. I determined upon the hazard of introducing myself to Olivier unannounced. I had purposely concealed my name from the hotel-keeper, in order to see, when Olivier should come to me, whether he would recognize me. I crossed over the meadow—found, after long seeking, a bridge over the brook, and a path that led through the underbrush towards the wild chestnuts. These overshadowed a spacious round plot near the castle, ornamented with green turf. On both sides stood fine easy-chairs under the broad branches of the trees, and upon one of the benches sat—I was not overcome—Olivier. He was reading a book. At his feet, a child about three years old played in the grass. Near him sat a beautiful young woman with an infant at the breast. The group was not a common one. I stood still, half hidden by the shrubs. None of them looked towards me. My eyes hung only on the good Olivier. Even the black beard which twined about his chin, and by means of the whiskers, connected with the dark locks of his head, became him—and as to his dress, though it was peculiar, it was not odd. On his head, he carried a neat cap, with the shade turned against the sun; his breast was open, with wide, overlapping shirt collars; he had a green jacket, buttoned tight before, with lappets reaching down to his knees, loose sailor trowsers, and half boots. He was dressed much in the same way as the peasants, only more tastefully, and with finer stuffs. His mien was quiet and thoughtful, and he looked like a man just entering his fortieth year. His beard gave him an heroic aspect and bearing. He stood before me, as I would imagine one of the noble forms of the middle ages.

In the meantime, the messenger of the tavern-keeper came from the castle to the circle of trees. The young fellow took off his beaver, and said, "Sir, there is a stranger on his journey who wishes to speak with thee. He says that he is one of thy oldest and best friends."

Olivier looked up, and inquired, "Journey? Is he on foot?"

"No, he came with the post!"

"What is his name? Who is he?"

"That I can't say."

"He must let me alone. I will not see him," cried Oliver, and made a sign to the youth with his hand that he must depart.

"But you must see me, Olivier," cried I, stepping forth, and bowing courteously to the young woman. He, without moving, even without returning my salutation, stretched his neck towards me, surveyed me for some time with a sharp glance, looked grave, threw his book down, then approached me, saying, "With whom am I speaking?"

"What, Achilles no longer knows his Patroclus," replied I.

"Ω πατοι," he exclaimed, while he spread out his arms, "welcome, noble Patroclus, in a French frock, and with powdered hair." Then he fell upon my bosom. In spite of his sarcastic speech both he and I were moved, and gave way to tears. An interval of twenty years melted away in the embrace. We breathed again, as we did upon the shores of the Seine, or at Borenden.

Thereupon, with eyes sparkling with joy, he led me to the charming young mother, who modestly reddened, and said to her, "See, this is Norbert,—thou knowest him already from many of my stories!" and to me, "That is my beloved wife."

She smiled with the veritable smile of an angel, and said, with an air and voice more kind even than her words, "Thou noble friend of Olivier, thrice welcome! I have long since desired the pleasure of thy personal acquaintance."

I would have said something obliging in return but I must confess that the familiar *Thou* which greeted me, unaccustomed to hear it spoken from such lovely lips, and in so unrestrained a manner quite deprived me of self possession.*

"My gracious lady," I stammered, finally, "I have—by a roundabout way of more than twenty miles—purchased cheaply,—the happiness,—you and your husband—my oldest friend——

"Hallo, Norbert," interrupted Olivier, laughing "only one word in the beginning, a request—call my wife as thou callest thy God simply thou. Do not disturb the plain customs of Flyeln with the fooleries of a German master of ceremonies and dealer in compliments: it makes a disagreeable discord in our ears. Imagine to thyself, that thou art two hundred years, or two hundred miles, away from Germany and Europe, and living again in a natural world—somewhere, if you please in the good old times of the Odyssey."

"Well, Olivier, you have managed to be *Thou* and *Thou*, with so worthy a woman, that no one need be requested twice; and as to thee, baroness, then——"

"Once more, hold!" cried Oliver, laughing loudly between each word, "thy baroness agrees with thee about as well as thy French frock and shorn beard agrees with the name of Patroclus. My peasants are no more bond-servants, but freemen; I and my wife are no more nor less barons than they are. Call me Amelia, as every body terms her here, Mother—the noblest title of a wife—or Madam."

"It appears," I interposed, "you good people have here in the midst of a kingdom, founded a republic and abolished all nobility."

"Right—all but the nobility of sentiment," answered Olivier, "and in that respect thou findest us in this land more extensively aristocratic than in your own Germany. For with you nobility of mind is of but little worth, and nobility of birth is fallen into the mire where it properly belongs."

"Pardon me, but thou art somewhat Jacobinically inclined," responded I; "who told thee that nobility of birth among us was sinking in public opinion?"

"Oh, popoi!" he exclaimed, "must I teach thee then? I knew, some years ago, a poor ragged Jew that you pious Christians would rather have had not born than born. He chaffered so much money together that he soon took his letters from the post-office with the address of a nobleman. After some years he was a rich man, and the courtly German conceived that he must have sprung from some high birth. All wrote to him from that time forth as nobly-descended banker. But the secret of it was that the banker with his ducats, helped the finance-minister and the prosperity-bringing war minister in their straits for money. On the spot, then, the useful banker was addressed and designated as the most nobly born baron. This illumination of the Germans—this mockery of nobility, has spread in a few years much further than thou believest. But I hope as the nobility of birth comes to be regarded among you as void, the nobility of mind will be much more legitimate and sufficient."

The baroness, in order to put her infant to rest and to prepare a chamber for me, left us with the children. Olivier led me through his garden, whose beds were filled with the choicest flowers. Above a fountain, there stood on high pedestals of black stone, white marble busts with inscriptions. I read there: Socrates, Cincinnatus, Columbus, Luther Bartholomew, Las Casas, Rousseau, Franklin, and Peter the Great.

"I see thou still livest in good company," said I. "Is there among the living one more worthy than thy excellent wife, with the two Amorettas, or among the dead, any more honorable than these here?"

"Didst thou, then, doubt my good taste?"

"No, indeed, Olivier; but I heard that thou hadst completely retired from the world."

"Only because I love good company, which is no where more scarce than in the assemblages of people of ton."

"Still thou will'st grant that it is possible that good company may be found out of Flyeln!"

"Certainly, Norbert, but I will not waste time and money in going to find it. Let us, however, break off from this. You Europeans have so frightfully departed from the holy simplicity of nature both in great things and small—for more than a thousand years have so much resembled sophisticated brutes, that the unnatural has become your nature, and you no longer comprehend a plain man. You are such corruptors of the human race, that a healthy being must dread to be among you. No thou noble Norbert, let us break off from it. Thou wouldst not readily understand me if I spoke. I value thee—I love thee—I pity thee."

"Pity? Why?"

"Since thou livest among fools, and, against thy conscience, must remain among them.

From these words of Olivier's, I inferred that he had gone over to his fixed idea. It was uncomfortable to me to be with him. I wished to draw him to some other subject, looked anxiously around, and began, as I happened to remark his beard, to praise it, and especially as it was so becoming. "Since when hast thou suffered it to grow," asked I.

"Since I returned to my senses, and had courage enough to be reasonable. Does it really please thee, Norbert? Why not wear thine own so, too?"

I drew my breath, and said, "If it were the common custom, I would with pleasure."

"That's it! While folly is the fashion—while nature, with an ugly barber's knife upon the chin must be rooted out with brush and razor—thou hast not the courage to be reasonable, even in a small matter. This ornament of man, mother Nature has not given in vain, any more than she has the hair on the head. But man, in his foolishness, imagines himself wiser than the Creator, and first smears his chin with soap, and then slicks it with a knife. So long as the nations had not altogether departed from nature, they stuck to the beard. Notwithstanding Christ and the apostles wore it, Pope Gregory VII. put it under ban. And still the clergy held to it for a long while, as do the Capucins at this day; but when some old fools began to be ashamed of their gray hairs, they went on to destroy that on their chins, and to confine that on their heads in a peruke. As they had been accustomed to belie themselves in all things, they sought to belie their age. Old men frisked about with blond hair and smooth chins, like young girls, and that made them effeminate in disposition; and other men followed the example, since they had no courage for the truth. Compare the heroic form of an Achilles, Alexander, or Julius Cæsar, with one of our modern field-marshals or lieutenants, in their untasteful uniforms; one of our exquisites, with his neckcloth and walking-stick, with an Antinous; thyself, Oh, councilman of Norbert, with a senator of old Greece or Rome—must we not laugh to split our sides over the caricatures that we are."

"Thou art right, Olivier!" said I, interposing, "who will deny that the old Roman or Greek dress is more graceful than ours? But to us in the North—we Europeans—a close dress is proper and needful; we should feel somewhat uncomfortable in the beautiful flowing robes of an Oriental or a Southron."

"Look at me, Norbert," said Olivier, laughing, as he placed himself before me, drew his cap upon one side of his head, stuck his left arm jauntily on his hip, and continued, "I, a Northlander, in my close, convenient, and simple dress, do I compare unfavorably with an old Roman citizen? Why does the Spanish, Italian, and German costume of the middle ages still please us? Because it was beautiful. An Austrian knight, in his helmet, even a hussar, would even now catch the eye of Julius Cæsar. Wherefore, you stiff gentlemen, do you not follow after your betters, as our women have already begun to do, since they have cast aside trains and powdered toupees? Should you come to be ashamed once, of being caricatures externally, perhaps you would then come nearer to nature internally. There is some truth in the proverb, 'Cloth makes the man.' And I tell thee, Norbert, my Amelia has found me handsomer, since I have only cropped my beard with the shears, and not destroyed it; yes, I believe since that time, her affections have grown more ardent, as her cheeks lean no more on a soft woman-face, but upon a man's; for the women ever like a manly man."

As Olivier spoke, he was quite excited. In fact, he stood before me as a hero of the earlier times, as if one of the old pictures had stepped out from its frame alive, as a being of that different world, which we wonder at, but cannot restore.

"Really, thou almost convertest me to the noble heard," said I to him, "and I should profit by it, if thou didst, since three times every week I should escape the torture of the barber."

"Friend," exclaimed Olivier, laughing, "it would not stop with that. The beard draws many things after it. Fancy thy figure, with its crisp beard, and the three-cornered peaked hat on the head like a Jew, the powdered pate, with a rat-tail in the neck—and the French frock, with skirts that stick out behind, like a swallow's tail! Away with the nonsense! Clothe thyself modestly, becomingly, warmly, comfortably, in good taste, so as to please the eye, but not to distort the sublime form of man. Banish all superfluity. For what is superfluous is unreasonable, and what is unreasonable is against nature."

As we continued our dispute on this point, the baroness sent a servant to call us to dinner. I followed Olivier silently, with my head full of thoughts which I did not dare to utter. In my whole life, it had never happened to me to hear so philosophical a fool. I was hardly prepared to make a reply to his remarks on European habiliments: for what he said seemed to be right. The old saying is not without use, that "Fools and children speak truth."

[To be continued.]

**The Germans use only thou to persons with whom they are on intimate terms.*

SAGACITY OF A CAT.

De La Croix relates the following almost incredible instance of sagacity in a cat, who even under the receiver of an air pump, discovered the means of escaping death, which appeared to all present inevitable:

I once saw, said he, a lecturer upon experimental philosophy, place a cat under the glass receiver of an air pump, for the purpose of demonstrating that very certain fact, that life cannot be supported without air or respiration. The lecturer had already made several strokes with the piston, in order to exhaust the receiver of its air, when the animal, who began to feel herself uncomfortable in the rarefied atmosphere, was fortunate enough to discover the source whence her uneasiness proceeded. She placed her paw upon the hole through which the air escaped, and thus prevented any more from passing out of the receiver. All the exertions of the philosopher were now unavailing; in vain he drew the piston; the cat's paw effectually prevented its operation. Hoping to effect his purpose, he let air again into the receiver, which as soon as the cat perceived, she withdrew her paw from the aperture; but whenever he attempted to exhaust the receiver, she applied her paw as before. All the spectators clapped their hands in admiration of the wonderful sagacity of the animal, and the lecturer found himself under the necessity of liberating her, and substituting another in her place, that possessed less penetration, and enabled him to exhibit the cruel experiment.

WHAT'S IN A NAME.

A raw Irishman in the employ of our friend Fenimore Cooper, at Cooperstown, was sent by him a few days since to the post-office, for letters. On receiving those for Mr. Cooper, he inquired if there were any letters for the "jintleman who was staying at the hall, Mr. *Brickbat*." The postmaster, after looking carefully through, said that there were one, and asked Pat if he was certain that was the name. Pat protested vehemently that it certainly was, as he was charged particularly to recollect it. A friend of Mr. Cooper's passing the office at the moment, the postmaster inquired of him what gentlemen were visiting Mr. Cooper. He replied that he knew of no one except Captain Shurbrick.—Och!" cried Pat, *that's the name, but faith didn't I come near it though?*"—*N. Y. Tribune.*

TRULY ELOQUENT.

Washingtonianism has given birth to as brilliant specimens of true eloquence, as heart could desire. Witness the following touching appeal to the young, made by an aged man, at a recent temperance jubilee at Newmarket, N. H.

I have come, he continued, twelve miles to attend his meeting—yet I do not value my time—I feel rewarded by what I see around me. My friends, I have seen more of the world than most of you. I have trod the streets of London; and the winds of India have fanned these furrowed cheeks of mine. My keel has been upon every sea, and my name upon many a tongue. Heaven blessed me with the best of wives—and my children, oh, why should I speak of them! My home was once a paradise. But I bowed like a brute, to the killing cup—my eldest son tore himself from his degraded father, and has never returned. My young heart's idol—my beloved and suffering wife, is gone broken-hearted to the grave. And my lovely daughter, whose image I seem to see in the beautiful around me, once my pride—pined away in sorrow and mourning because her father was a drunkard, and now sleeps by her mother's side. But I still live to tell the history of my shame, and the ruin of my family. I still live—and stand here before you to offer up my heart's fervent gratitude to my heavenly Father, that I have been snatched from the brink of a drunkard's grave. I live to be a sober man. And while I live, I shall struggle to restore my wandering brethren again to the bosom of society. This form of mine is wasting and bending under the weight of years. But, my young friends, you are just blooming into life; the places of your fathers and mothers will soon be vacant. See that you come up to fill them with pure hearts and anointed lips! Bind the blessed pledge firmly to your hearts; and be it the Shibboleth of life's warfare!

MODERN SAMSONS.—Hon. J. S. Buckingham, esq. member of parliment, says, that "he finest and strongest men he ever saw in his life, were a tribe residing upon the Himalaya mountains. They came to Calcutta as Athletæ, to show their skill in wrestling, boxing, throwing the quoit, and other athletic exercises: they were pitted against British grenadiers and sailors, the strongest that could be found; the result was, that one of them was a match for any three, and yet these men never tasted any drink stronger than milk or water, from their infancy upwards. He had himself travelled from Diarbekir to Bagdad, a distance of eight hundred miles, on horseback, in ten days, with the thermometer ranging from 100 at sunrise to 126 or 130 degrees in the afternoon, without drinking anything but water, and he was as fresh and as strong at the end of his journey as when he set out."

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—*Job. xvii. 8.*

Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper. Just published, and for sale at this office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York; and at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

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